



Class D.G. 282

Book R3

L. Whitter

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THAT INIMITABLE MONARCH
T I B E R I U S,
WHO,
IN THE XIV YEAR OF HIS REIGN,
REQUESTED THE SENATE
TO PERMIT THE WORSHIP OF JESUS CHRIST;
AND WHO,
IN THE XVI AND THREE FOLLOWING YEARS,
OR,
BEFORE THE CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS BY PETER,
SUPPRESSED ALL OPPOSITION TO IT.

BY
The Rev. JOHN RENDLE, M. A.
LATELY MATH. LECT. OF SID. SUSS. COLL. CAMBRIDGE,
AND SINCE FELLOW OF THAT SOCIETY,
BUT NOW VICAR OF WIDECOMBE IN THE MOOR, DEVON.

Ut quibus initiis, *quantâ arte Tiberii* gravissimum exitium irrepserit,
dein repressum sit, postremo arserit, cunctaque corripuerit,
noscatur. Tac. Ann. i. 73.
Repressaue in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non
modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam.
Ann. xv. 44.
Cum interim usque eo *sceleratissimæ gentis* consuetudo convaluit ut
per omnes *jam* terras recepta sit: *victi victoribus leges dederunt.*
Sen. de Superstitione.

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THE HISTORY
OF
T I B E R I U S :

Who, as seven cotemporary and other writers say, was
VERY STUDIOUS OF EVERY LIBERAL AND USEFUL SCIENCE.

As long as he lived
THE FRIEND OF NONE BUT VIRTUOUS AND LEARNED MEN.

When commander in chief
MOST CORDIALLY BELOVED BY ALL HIS OFFICERS AND MEN.

During the Pannonian and German wars
THE SOLE SUPPORTER OF THE ROMAN SUPER-EMINENCE.

Five years before he became a Monarch
BY THE SENATE MADE EQUAL IN POWER TO AUGUSTUS.

Long after he was a Monarch
A DETESTER OF FLATTERY AND OF ALL POMPOUS TITLES.

In the tenth year of his Monarchy
THE ABHORRENT OPPOSER OF HIS OWN DEIFICATION.

Long after the disaster at Fidenæ
MOST EMINENTLY EXEMPLARY, GREAT, JUST, AND HUMANE.

After he was so very exemplary, &c.
AN EATER OF HUMAN FLESH AND A DRINKER OF HUMAN BLOOD.

During most of his reign
THE UNIVERSAL DISPENSER OF THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE.

From the fourteenth to the nineteenth of his reign
PERMITTED THE WORST OF ALL CIVIL WARS TO RAGE AT ROME.

During the three first years of the same period
OVERCOME BY THE PRESSURE OF FAMILY AFFLICTIONS.

In the decline of life
NEGLIGENT OF THE GODS, BUT ATTENTIVE TO SOME ONE GOD.

Always
A FRIEND OF JEWS AND THE MAINTAINER OF JEWISH RITES.

From the time he went to Rhodes
A HEARER OF THE LAW AND A PARTIAL DOER OF IT.

Sometime before he died
REMARKABLY INQUISITIVE ABOUT FUTURITY.

In the fourteenth year of his reign
A BELIEVER IN THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST.

After the Jews had preferred Barabbas to Jesus
THE ABOLISHER OF ALL SANCTUARY PROTECTIONS.

Before the death of Sejanus
THE FIRST PROHIBITOR OF IMMEDIATE EXECUTIONS.

During the last eight years of his reign
THE NURSING FATHER OF THE INFANT CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In the sixteenth year of his reign
THE PROTECTOR OF JEWISH CHRISTIANS AS NOT BLASPHEMERS.

When old
OF ALL KINGS OR AUTOCRATS THE MOST VENERABLE.

Whose death was
AS SOME AFFIRMED, PREFIGURED BY THAT OF A PHŒNIX.

Whose funeral was
SOLEMNIZED WITH DUE POMP AND AT THE PUBLIC EXPENCE.

And, lastly, who, at his death
FOLLOWED AUGUSTUS TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE GODS.

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ORIGINAL QUOTATIONS

FROM

The works of the ancient Authors,

Alluded to in the preceding TITLE PAGE,

IN SUPPORT OF THE

SEVERAL PARTICULARS THEREIN ASSERTED OF

Tiberius.

Very studious of every liberal and useful Science.

AUGUSTUS.—Vale jucundissime Tiberi, et rem gere feliciter—

Εμοι και ταις Μεσαις στρατηγων.

Suet. iii. 21.

HORACE.—Legentis honesta Neronis. *Epist.* i. 9. l. 4.

PATERCULUS.—Innutritus *cælestium præceptorum disciplinis*, juvenis genere, formâ, celsitudine corporis, *optimis studiis* maximoque ingenio instructissimus. ii. 94.

PHILO.—αλλα την παιδειαν; και τις ην φρονιμωτερος η λογικωτερος εκεινς των κατ' αυτον ακμησαντων; p. 783. F.

——ε μην αλλα και ετι νεος ων, ο πρεσβυτης ελεγετο δι αιδω την περι την αγχινοιαν.

p. 783. F.

——επειδη προς το σεμνοτερον τε και αυσηροτερον σχεδον εκ της πρωτης ηλικιας επικλινως ειχεν.

p. 786. F.

SUETONIUS.—Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit.

iii. 70.

DION C.—ενθυμηθεις εν νυκτος περι αυτη, παντας της τα τοιαυτα ακριβεντας μετεπεμψατο, πανυ γαρ δη εμελεν αυτω τῷ κάλως διαλεγεσθαι.

L. 57. p. 613. E.

The friend of none but virtuous and learned Men.

PATERCULUS.—Honorantur recta, prava puniuntur—honor dignis paratissimus—nam facere recte cives suos Princeps optimus faciendo docet. ii. 126.

V. MAXIMUS.—Te igitur huic cæpto, penes quem hominum Deorumque consensus, maris ac terræ regimen esse voluit, certissima falus patriæ Cæsar invoco : cujus cœlesti prudentiâ, virtutes de quibus dicturus sum benignissime foveantur : vitia severissime vindicantur.

Prol. ad Tib.

PHILO.—Ελικων απεγευσατο των εγκυκλιων κατα φιλοτιμιαν τε προτερη δεσποτε, ος αυτον εδωρησατο Τιβεριω Καισαρι τοτε μεν εν υδεμιας ετυγχανε προνομιας, οσα μειρακιωδη χαριεντισματα Τιβεριε διαμεμισσηκοτος επειδη προς το σεμνοτερον τε και αυσηροτερον σχεδον εκ πρωτης ηλικιας επικλινως ειχεν.

p. 786. F.

CLEMENS OF R.—Θεασαμενος δε ο Καισαρ τον τε πατερα και την μητερα, και επιγνης αυτους εξεση επι τωτω. και περιφυσ αυτε τω τραχηλω, θερμως εκλαιεν. επισχων δε τε πενθες, προς τον συγχλητον αποβλεψας, συγχαρητε μοι, εφη παντες, και κοινην εορτην ποιησωμεθα, την ανευρησιν Φαυσε και Ματθιδιας, οτι νεκροι νομιζομενοι ανεστησαν, και απολωλοτες ευρηθησαν.

De gestis P. p. 143.

TACITUS.—Cæteri liberalibus studiis præditi, ferme Græci, quorum sermonibus levaretur.

Ann. iv. 58.

———— Cocceius Nerva continuus Principis omnis divini humanique juris sciens.

Ann. vi. 26.

———— Tum complexus eum (Thrasyllum) Tiberius inter intimos amicorum tenet.

Ann. vi. 21.

N. B. Julian says of Thrasyllus that he would have been equally famous if he never had been acquainted with Tiberius.

DION C.—Ου δε ζην επι, εφη, αξιος ειμι, ειγε και Λεντυλος με μισει.

L. 57. sub fine.

——ο δὲ δὴ πενθερός αὐτῷ Μάρκος Σιλανός, εἴθ' υποσχομένος τι, εἴτε κατομοσας, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ ὑπο τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπο τῆς συγγενείας ἦν καὶ διὰ τῷτο περιβριζέτο, εαυτὸν κατεχρησατο. ο μὲν γὰρ Τιβερίος ὅτως αὐτὸν ἐτιμῆσεν, ὥστε μῆτε ἐκκλητὸν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῷ δικάσαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχέρισται.

L. 59. p. 645. F. 646. A.

Most cordially beloved by all his Officers and Men.

PATERCULUS.—Neque illi spectaculo, quo fructus sum, simile conditio mortalis recipere videtur mihi: cum per celeberrimam Italiæ partem, tractum omnem Galliæ provinciarum veterem imperatorem, et ante meritis ac virtutibus quam nomine, Cæsarem reviscentes, sibi quisque quam illi, gratularentur plenius. At vero militum conspectu ejus elicite gaudio lacrymæ, alacritasque et salutationes nova quædam exultatio, et contingendi manus cupiditas, non continentium protinus, quin adjecerant—Videmus te, Imperator? saluum recepimus?—ac deinde—Ego tecum, Imperator, in Armeniâ, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germaniâ donatus sum. ii. 104.

—— Quanta cum quiete hominum, rem perpetui præcipuique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione delectus providet? ii. 130.

TACITUS.—Ire ipsum, et opponere majestatem imperatoriam debuisse, cessuris, ubi principem longâ experientiâ, eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. A. i. 46.

The sole supporter of the Roman super-eminence.

AUGUSTUS AD TIB.—Teque rogo ut parcas tibi: ne si te languere audierimus, et ego et mater tua exspiremus et de summâ imperii P. R. periclitetur. Suet. iii. 21.

N. B. Suetonius had before said of Augustus—et epistolis aliquot, (Tib.) ut paritissimum rei militaris, atque *unicum præsidium* P. R. prosequeretur.

PATERCULUS.—Lætitiâ illius diei, concursusque civitatis, et vota pene inferentium cælo manus spemque conceptæ perpetuæ securi-

tatis æternitatisque R. I., vix in illo justo opere abunde persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere tentemus. Id unum dixisse [juvat] quam ille omnibus fuerit [carus] tum refulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrimonii; omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis: adeo, ut nec plus sperari potuerit, nec spei responderi felicius. ii. 103.

V. MAXIMUS.—Princeps parentisque noster auctor et tutela incolumitatis nostræ. ix. ii.

By the Senate made equal in power to Augustus.

PATERCULUS.—Autumno (that is in autumn of the year u. c. 761, and immediately after the peace with Pannonia, as Dion says in the end of 55 book) victor in hyberna reducitur exercitus, cujus omnibus copiis a Cæsare (a Cæsaribus, no doubt, says the Oxf. Ed.) M. Lepidus præfectus est, vir nominis et fortunæ eorum proximus.

ii. 114.

———— Initio ætatis Lepidus, educito hybernis exercitu, &c.—pervenit ad Cæsarem; et ob ea, quæ, si propriis gessisset auspiciis, triumphare debuerat, ornamentis triumphalibus, consentiente principum voluntate donatus est. —. 115.

N. B. By the former of those two extracts it appears that Lepidus was, early in the year u. c. 762, made, by Augustus and Tiberius, commander in chief. And by the other, that he, in the same year, and by consent of the same princes, was invested with triumphal ornaments.

———— Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore ingressa animum imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quæ initio fuerat, qui cum mollisset, et senatus populusque Romanus (postulante patre ejus) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset (etenim absurdum erat) *in urbem reversus*, jam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannonicis Dalmatisque egit triumphum. ii. 121.

N. B. By this we learn that Tiberius was, before he returned to Rome and triumphed over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, by the Senate, invested with power equal to that of Augustus.

———— Quibus *juventam* ejus exaggeravit honoribus, respondente cultu triumphi rerum quas gesserat magnitudini? ii. 129.

Those honors appear, by what Dion says L. 56. p. 582. B., to have been conferred on Germanicus in the year u. c. 763, and before the news arrived of the defeat of Varus.

SUETONIUS.—Data rursus potestas Tribunitia in quinquennium: delegatus pacandæ Germaniæ status: Parthorum legati, mandatis Augusto Romæ redditis, eum quoque adire in Provinciam jussi. iii. 16.

Nihilominus urbem prætextatus, et laureâ coronatus intravit, positumque in Septis tribunal, Senatu adstante, conscendit: ac medius inter duos Cofs. *cum Augusto simul sedit*: unde, populo consalutato, circum templa deductus est. iii. 17.

N. B. This triumphant entrance into the city must, according to Dion, L. 56, init., have happened in the year u. c. 762. And, therefore, the Parthian ambassadors must, before that entrance, have been sent to Tiberius in Germany.

———— Ac non multo post Lege per Cofs. lata, ut Provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, *simulque censum ageret*, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. iii. 21.

N. B. By this it appears that this law enabling Tiberius, with Augustus, to govern the provinces and to make a census, was passed before the last census was begun, and as every census lasted five years, and that here spoken of ended a little before the death of Augustus, this law must have been passed u. c. 762.

TACITUS.—Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur: non, &c. A. i. 3.

N. B. By the order in which Tacitus has mentioned those three degrees of promotion, it should seem that Tiberius was made colleague in the empire before he was made partner in the tribunitial authority.

———— Etenim Augustus, *paucis ante annis*, cum Tiberio tribunitiam potestatem a patribus *rursum* postularet, quamquam, &c.

A. i. 10.

Query—How many years before the death of Augustus was the tribunitial authority *again* conferred on Tiberius?—Dion says l. 55. p. 556. E. that in 757 the tribunitial power was conferred on Tiberius for ten years. Consequently, if that power was given to him in the year u. c. 757, it must have ended in the year u. c. 767, the year in which Augustus died. That it was then given to him, Paternulus says, ii. 103. But could Tacitus have here meant by *paucis annis* the year 757, when Augustus adopted Tiberius? Would Augustus then have exposed his defects? Did he not then say—Hoc reip. causâ facio? Surely Tacitus must have here meant the same year, as he had before done, i. 3. when Tiberius was made collega imperii.—And the same as Suetonius does, iii. 16. where he says the Parthian ambassadors were sent into Germany to attend Tiberius.

———— Ut versâ Cæsarum sobole, imperium adeptus est.

Ann. ii. 42.

Now what does he mean by this? That he could not have meant by it to allude to the commencement of Tiberius' monarchy is plain, from what he says, i. 6.—primum facinus *novi imperii* fuit Agrippæ Posthumi cædes. Does he then mean that Tiberius obtained a share in the government soon after the death of Caius? At that time Agrippa Posthumus was alive and in favor. Must he not

then have meant by it the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumus? If he does, Tiberius must have been admitted to a share in the government after u. c. 760, for Dion says, l. 55. p. 570. A. that Agrippa was in that year banished to Planasia, near Corfica.

———— Fine anni (u. c. 788. T. 22.) Poppæus Sabinus concessit vitâ principum amicitîâ, consulatum et triumphale decus adeptus: maximisque provinciis per quatuor et viginti annos impositus.

Ann. vi. 39.

Now P. Sabinus was, we know, consul u. c. 762, several years after the deaths of Caius and Lucius, and, more than one after the banishment of Agrippa.—Consequently, by—*principum amicitîâ*—can only be understood that of Augustus and Tiberius.

DION C.—επειδὴ δὲ ὁ Αὐγῆστος καὶ τῷ γῆρᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆ σωματος ἀδυνεὶα ἐκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δυνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτῷ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνεδρῶν καὶ διεσκεψάτο, καὶ ἐδικάζεν, ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθημένος τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας, τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δῆμων, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνυμένας, τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευοτῶν ἐπετρέψεν, ὥς αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἐκάστον καὶ διακθεῖν τινῶν, καὶ ἀποκρισὶν αὐτοῖς δίδοναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκᾶσιον ἦν τὴν τε βέλῃν καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.

l. 55. p. 567. B.

—— Ο δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ρώμην μετὰ τοῦ χειμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ Κύντος Σελπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπατεύουσιν, ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Αὐγῆστος ἐς τὸ προαεῖον ἀπαντήσας, ἦλθε τε μετ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ Σιπτα, καὶ ταῦθα ἀπὸ βήματος τὸν δῆμον ἡσπασάτο.

l. 56. p. 572. E.

AN ANCIENT PANEGYRIST.—Quousque hoc Maximiniane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto, post septuaginta ætatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi?

Pagius—Critic. A. C. 11. num. iii.

A detester of flattery and of all pompous Titles.

SUETONIUS.—Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua juraretur: et nomenfis September, Tiberius; October, Livius vocaretur. Prænomen quoque Imperatoris, cognomenque Patris Patriæ, et civicam in vestibulo coronam recusavit. Ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quanquam hæreditarium, ullis nisi ad Reges ac dynastas epistolis addidit.

iii. 26.

———— Adulationes adeo averfatus est, ut neminem Senatorum aut officii aut negotii causâ ad lecticam suam admiserit: consularem vero satisfaciens sibi, ac per genua orare conantem ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus: atque etiam si quid in sermone; vel in continuâ oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare ac reprehendere, et commutare continuo. Dominus appellatus a quodam, denuntiavit, ne se amplius contumeliæ causâ nominaret.

iii. 27.

TACITUS.—Nomen patris patriæ Tiberius a populo sæpius ingestum repudiavit: neque in acta sua jurari, quamquam censente senatu, permisit: cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictans.

Ann. i. 72.

DION. C.—και ὅτε δεσποτὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς, ὅτε αὐτοκράτορα, πλὴν τοῖς στρατιωταῖς, καλεῖν ἐφίει: το, τε τῷ πατρός τῆς πατρίδος προσρημα παντελῶς διεωσατο. Προκριτὸς δὲ τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἠθέλεν ὀνομαζέσθαι. καὶ πολλακίς ἐλέγεν ὅτι—Δεσποτὴς μὲν τῶν δαλῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν προκριτὸς εἰμὶ. ἠύχετο τε τοσούτον καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ ἀρξάει χρόνον, ὅσον αὐτῷ τῷ δημοσίῳ σύμφορον. καὶ ὅτω γε διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικὸς ἦν κ. τ. λ.

l. 57. p. 607. A.

———— τῷ δὲ Τιβερίῳ τῆς βελῆς ἐγκειμένης, καὶ τὸν γὰρ μῆνα τὸν Νοεμβρίον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγεγεννητο, Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιώσης—Καὶ τί, εἴη, ποιήσετε, εἰ δεκάτρεις Καίσαρες γενῶνται.

l. 57. p. 614. E.

The abhorrent opposer of his own Deification.

SUETONIUS.—Templa, Flamines, Sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se poni: permisitque, eâ solâ conditione, ne inter simulacra Deorum, sed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur. Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua juraretur.

iii. 26.

———— Dominus appellatus a quodam, denuntiavit, ne se amplius contumeliæ causâ nominaret. Alium dicentem sacras ejus occupationes, &c. pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit.

iii. 27.

TACITUS.—Ego me P. C. mortalem esse, et hominum officia fungi, fatisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor, et meminisse posteros velo, &c.—Tiberius to the Senate.—To which Tacitus subjoins—Perstititque posthoc, secretis etiam sermonibus, aspernari talem sui cultum.

Ann. iv. 38.

DION C.—Ταυτα τε εν δημοτικῶς διωκει. και οτι ετε τεμενισμα αυτῶ εχ' οπως αυθαιρετον, αλλ' εδ' αλλως τοτε γε ετεμενισθη ετε εικονα εξῆν αυτε εδενι σῆσαι. αντικρυς γαρ παραχρημα απηγορευσε, μητε πολει μητ' ιδιωτη τωτο ποιεῖν. προσεθηκε μεν γαρ τῇ απορρησει, οτι,—αν μη εγω επιτρεψω—προσεπεῖπε δε οτι—εχ επιτρεψω—επει το γε υβρισθαι προς τινος και το ησεβῆσθαι προς τινος (ασεβειαν τε γαρ ηδη και το τοιῦτον ωνομαζον, και δικας επ' αυτῶ πολλας εσῆγον) ηκιστα προσεποιετο. εδε εστιν ην τινα τοιαυτην εφ' εαυτῶ γραφην προσεδεξατο, καιπερ τον Αυγερον και εν τωτω σεμνυνων.

l. 57. 607. E. 8. A.

Most eminently exemplary, great, just, and humane.

PATERCULUS.—O rem dictu non eminentem, sed solida veraque virtute atque utilitate maximam, experientiâ suavissimam, humanitate singularem! Per omne belli Germanici Pannonicique tempus, nemo e nobis, gradumve nostrum aut præcedentibus aut sequentibus, imbecillus fuit; cujus salus ac valetudo non ita sustentaretur Cæsaris curâ, tamquam distractissimus ille tantorum onerum mole huic uni negotio

vacaret animus. Erat desiderantibus paratum junctum vehiculum; lectica ejus publicata, cujus beneficium cum alii, tum ego sensi. Jam medici, jam apparatus cibi, jam in hoc solum importatum instrumentum balinei nullius non succurrit valetudini. domus tantum ac domestici deorant; cæterum nihil, quod ab illis aut præstari aut desiderari posset. Adjiciam illud, quod, quisquis illis temporibus interfuit, ut alia, quæ retuli, agnoscat protinus. ii. 114.

————— Sepultæque ac situ obsitæ justitia, æquitas, industria civitati redditæ; accessit magistratibus auctoritas, senatui majestas, judiciis gravitas; ii. 126.

————— Cumque sit imperio maximus, exemplo major est. 126.

V. MAXIMUS.—Cujus cælesti providentiâ virtutes de quibus dicturus sum, benignissime foventur: *Prol. ad Tib.*

Lib. v. cap. 1, De humanitate.

Lib. vi. cap. 5, De justitiâ.

————— Princeps parensque noster auctor ac tutela incolumitatis nostræ. ix. ii.

SENECA.—Quid aliorum tibi funera Cæsarum referam? quos in hoc mihi interim videtur violare fortuna, ut sic quoque generi humano profint, ostendentes, ne eos quidem, qui diis geniti deosque genituri dicantur, sic suam fortunam in potestate habere, quemadmodum alienam. *Divus Augustus*, amissis liberis, nepotibus, exhaustâ Cæsarum turbâ, adoptione desertam domum fulsit. Tulit tamen fortiter: tanquam ejus jam res ageretur cujus cum maxime intererat, de diis neminem queri. *Tib. Cæsar* et quem genuerat, et quem adoptaverat, amisit: ipse tamen pro rostris laudavit filium, stetitque in conspectu posito corpore, interjecto tantummodo velamento, quod pontificis oculos a funere arceret, et flente populo romano non flexit vultum: experiendum se dedit Sejano ad latus stanti, quam patienter

posset suos perdere. Videsne quanta copia *virorum maximorum* sit, quos non excepit hic omnia prosterbens casus, in quos *tot animi bona*, tot ornamenta publice privatimque congesta erant?

Consol. ad Marciam c. 15.

———— Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolæ non finunt.— Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa, Tiberius progener, et Drusus nepos *inter tam magna nomina* taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset.

Epist. 21.

SUETONIUS.—Atque hæc eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellandis venerandisque singulis, et universis prope excefferat humanitatis modum.

iii. 29.

Neque tam parvum quidquam, neque tam magnum publici privati negotii fuit, de quo non ad P. C. referretur Nunquam curiam nisi solus intravit: lecticâ quondam introlatus æger, comites a se removit.

— 30.

———— Quædam adversus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est Cum Senatusconsultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem in quâ pauciores erant, secutus est nemo. Cætera quoque non nisi per Magistratus et jure ordinario agebantur: tantâ Cofs. auctoritate ut Legati ex Africâ adierint eos, querentes trahi se a Cæsare, ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset ipsum quoque eisdem assurgere et decedere viâ.

— 31.

———— Quorundam illustrium exsequias usque ad rogam frequenter. Parem moderationem minoribus quoque et personis et rebus exhibuit: &c.

iii. 32.

———— Paullatim Principem exercuit, præstititque; etsi varium diu, commodiorem tamen sæpius, et ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo cætenus interveniebat ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque et

constitutiones quasdam senatus rescidit: et Magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium, affidebatque mistim vel ex adverso in parte primori: et si quem reorum elabi gratiâ rumor esset, subitus aderat, iudicesque aut e plano, aut e quæstoris tribunali, legum et religionis, et noxæ de quâ cognoscerent, admonerat: atque etiam si qua in publicis moribus desidiâ aut malâ consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit. iii. 33.

—— Statimque revocante assiduâ obtestatione populo, propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas, supra xx. hominum millia gladiatorio munere amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem, potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit; tanto magis quod ab urbe egrediens, ne quis se interpellaret, edixerat, ac toto itinere adeuntes submoverat. iii. 40.

—— Nec abstinuit consuetudine, quin tunc quoque instans in medio triclinio, adstante lictore, singulos valere dicentes appellaret. —. 72.

TACITUS.—Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum, quæque in togâ per tot annos egregie fecisset, admonuit. *Ann* i. 12.

—— Egregium vitâ famâque quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit. vi. 51.

—— Congruens crediderim recensere cæteras quoque reipublicæ partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitæ sint: quando Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. Jam primum publica negotia, et privatorum maxima, apud patres tractabantur: dabaturque primoribus differere: sua consulibus, sua prætoribus species. minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si majestatis quæstio eximeretur, bono in usu. Res suas Cæsar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat. iv. 6

———— Nondum ea clades (at Fidenæ) exoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Cælio. feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi confilium absentiae, &c. ni Cæsar obviam isset, tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. Actæque ei grates apud senatum, ab inlustribus: fama-que apud populum, quia sine ambitione, aut proximorum precibus, ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia juverat. iv. 64.

———— Magisque famâ quam vi, stare res suas. vi. 30.

DION C.—ελαχιστα γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν δαπανῶν, πλεῖστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνηλίσκει. πάντα μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ δημοσία ἔργα, τὰ μὲν ἀνοικοδομῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐπικοσμῶν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιωταῖς ἐπαρκῶν, τῶν τε βεβλητῶν συχνὴς πενομένης, καὶ μήκετι μὴδὲ βεβλευεῖν διὰ τῆς ἐθελοντίας, ἐπλητίσεν. ὁ μὲντοι καὶ ἀκριτῶς αὐτὸ ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ διεγράφε τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἀσελγείας, τῆς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πτωχείας, ὅσοι μὴδὲν αὐτῆς λογισμὸν εἰκοτὰ ἀποδῆναι ἐδύναντο. πᾶν τε ὁ ἐδωρεῖτο τισιν, εὐθὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῷ ἠριθμῆιτο. ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Λυγύρῳ μεγάλα ἐκ τῶν τοιῶτων οἱ δοτῆρες αὐτῶν ἀπετεμνοντο, δεινῶς ἐφυλαττέτο μὴ καὶ ἐφ' αὐτῷ τῆτο γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὰυτὰ μὲντοι πάντα ἐκ τῶν νενομισμένων προσόδων ἐδαπανᾶ. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπεκτείνε χρημάτων ἐνεκα ὁδὲν, ὅτε ὅσιαν τινος τότε γέ ἐδημεύσεν, ἀλλ' ὁδ' ἐξ ἐπηρείας τι ἠγγυρολόγησεν.— Αἰμιλίῳ γέν Ρηκτῷ χρήματα ποτὲ αὐτῷ πλείω παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἥς ἦρχε πεμφαντι ἀντεπεσείλεν ὅτι—“Κεῖρεσθαι μὲ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξυρεσθαι βελομαι.”

Καὶ μὲντοι καὶ εὐπροσόδος καὶ εὐπροσηγορος ἰσχυρῶς ἦν. τῆς γὰρ βεβλητάς αὐτοῦ ἀσπαζέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μὴ ἠσιζῶνται. τὸ, τε συμπάν, τοσαυτὴν ἐπιεικείαν ἡσκει, ὥστε ἐπεὶ δὴ ποτὲ οἱ Ροδίων ἀρχόντες ἐπίσειλαντες τὴν αὐτῷ, ἔχ' ὑπεγράψαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῆτο δὴ τὸ νομιζόμενον, εὐχὰς αὐτῷ ποιούμενοι: μετεπεμψάτο μὲν σφᾶς σπεδῆ ὡς καὶ κακὸν τι δράσων, ἐλθόντας δὲ ὁδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ἐνδεὸν ἀπεπεμψε. τῆς τε αἰεὶ ἀρχόντας ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐτίμα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπατοῖς καὶ ὑπανίστατο. ὅποτε τε αὐτὸς δειωνίζοι, τῆτο μὲν, ἐσιόντας σφᾶς πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐξεδέχετο, τῆτο δὲ, καὶ ἀπιόντας προεωρεμῶεν. εἰ τε ποτὲ ἐπὶ τῷ διφρε ἐκομίζετο, ὁδὲν οἱ παρακολυθεῖν, ἔχ' ὅπως βεβλητὴν, ἀλλ' ὁδ' ἰσχυρῶς τῶν πρώτων,

εἰα. ἐν τε ταῖς πανηγυρεσι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοιοῦτοτροπὸν ἀσχολίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς πράξεσιν ἐμελλεν, ἐλθὼν ἂν ἀφ' ἑσπερας πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Καισαρείων, τῶν πρὸς τοῖς χωριοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐς ἃ συμφοιτῆσαι ἔδει, οἰκνῶντων, ἐνταῦθα τὰς νυκτὰς ἐνηυλίζετο. ὥπως ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτῃ καὶ ἀπονωτάτῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο. καὶ τῆς γὰρ τῶν ἰσθμίων ἀγωνίας ἐξ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀπελευθερῶν τίνος πολλακίς ἑώρα. συνεχέστατα γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀπώνετο, τῆς τε τιμῆς τῶν ἐπιτελούντων αὐτὰς ἐνεκά, καὶ τῆς τῷ πλῆθους εὐκοσμίας, τῇ τε συνέορταζεν σφίσι δοκεῖν. ἔγχαρ ὅτε ἐσπεύδατο ποτε τοπαρῶν τῶν τοιῶτων ἕδεν, ὅτε δόξαν τινὰ, ὡς καὶ συσπυρόντινι, ἐσχεν. ἔγωγε τε ἐς πάντα ἴσος καὶ ὁμοῖος ἦν, ὥστ' ὀρχήσῃν τινὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐλευθερωθῆναι ποτε βεβηθέντος, μὴ πρότερον συνεπαίνεσαι, πρὶν τὸν δεσποτὴν αὐτῷ καὶ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαβεῖν. τοῖς τε ἑταίροις, ὡς μὲν ἐν ιδιωτείᾳ, συνῆνι. καὶ γὰρ δικάζομενοις σφίσι συνηγινώριζετο, καὶ θυβοὺς συνωρτάζε. νοσῶντας τε ἐπισκεπτόμετο, μὴδὲμίαν φρενᾶν ἐπισηγομενός. καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γὰρ τινὶ αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντι τὸν ἐπιταφίον αὐτοῦ εἶπε.

p. 608. 609.

— καὶ ἐπιτιμία (Drusum-scil.) καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία πολλακίς. καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντικρὺς πολλῶν παρόντων εἶπεν ὅτι, “Ζῶντος μὲν μῦθ' ἕδεν ὅτε βίαιον ἢ ὑβριστικὸν πράξεις ἂν δὲ τι καὶ τολμήσης, ἕδε τελευτήσαντος.” χρόνον γὰρ τινὰ σωφρονεσάτα διεγενετο, καὶ ἕδε τῶν ἀλλῶν ἕδενι ἀσελγανεινὴν ἠφίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ ἐκολαζε. καίτοι τῶν βεβηλῶν ποτε ἐπιτιμίον τι κατὰ τῶν ἀσωτῶς ζώντων νομοθετήσθηναι ἐβέλησαντων, μὴτε τι τάξας, καὶ προσεπειπὼν, ὅτι ἀμείνων ἐσὶν ἰδία τροπὴν τινὰ αὐτῶς σωφρονίζειν, ἢ κοινὴν τίσι τιμωρίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τῷ φόβῳ τῆς αἰσχυνῆς καὶ μετριάσαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἂν δ' ἀπαξ ὁ νόμος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐκνικηθῇ, μὴδὲνα αὐτῷ προτιμησείν. καὶ ἐπεὶ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐσθῆτι ἀλουργεῖ καὶ ἄνδρες συχνοὶ (καίπερ ἀπαγορευθέν πρότερον) ἐχρῶντο, διεμεμψάτο μὲν ἕδεν, ἕδε ἐζημιώσεν. νετῦ δὲ ἐν πανηγυρεὶ τινὶ γενομένη, φαίαν μανδύην ἐπενέδυ. κακ' ὅτε ἔκετ' ἕδεις αὐτῶν ἀλλόδιον ἐσθημα λαβεῖν ἐτολμήσε. ταῦθ' ἔγωγε πάντα, μέχρι γὰρ καὶ ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐξῆ, ἐποτεῖ. μετὰ γὰρ τῷ συχνῷ αὐτῶν μετεβάλλεν, εἰτ' ἐν φρονῶν μὲν ἔως ἀπὸ πρώτης, ὡς ὑπερὸν διεδειξε, πλάσσεμενος δὲ ἐς ὅσον ἐκείνος ἐβίω, ἐπει-
θήπερ ἐφειδρυνόντα αὐτὸν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑώρα. εἴτε καὶ πεφυκῶς μὲν ἔϋ, ἐξοκειλὰς δ' ὅτε τῷ ἀνταγωνιστῇ ἐσηρήθη.

p. 610.

— ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τῷ σεισμῷ κακωθείσαις χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀνείθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐδόθη. τῶν γὰρ

αλλοτριῶν ἰσχυρῶς, μεχρι γε και την αλλην αρετην επετηδευσεν, απεχομενος, μητε
 τας κληρονομιας, ας τινες αυτῶ συγγενῆς εχοντες κατελιπον, προσιεμενος, παμπολλα
 εις τε τας πολεις και της ιδιωτας ανηλiske. και ετε τιμην, ετε επαινον εδενα επ'
 αυτοις προσεδεχετο.

p. 614. D.

—— το, τε πρᾶγμα το κατα τα δεινασματα εμετριασε, και δισχιλιας και πεντα-
 κοσιας μυριαδας τῶ δημοσιῳ εδωκεν, ωστ' αυτας υπ' ανδρῶν βελευτῶν ατοκει τοις
 δεομενοις ες τρια ετη εκδανεισθῆναι.

p. 634. E.

—— Σεξση δε δη Παπινιε μετα Κυιντε Πλαυτιε υπατευσαντος, ο, τε Τιβερις πολλα
 τῆς πολεως επεκλυσεν, ωσε πλευσθῆναι, και πυρι πολυ πλειῳ περι τε τον ἵπποδρομον
 και περι τον Αθηντῖνον εφθαρη. ωσε τον Τιβεριον δισχιλιας και πεντακοσιας μυριαδας
 τοις ζημιωθεῖσι τι απ' αυτῆ δειναι.

p. 638. A.

An eater of human flesh and a drinker of human blood.

DION C.—Τοσαύτης δ' εν τοτε τῆς κατασασεως εσης, και μηδ' απαρνησασθαι
 τινος δυναμενε το μη ε και τῶν σαρκῶν αυτῆ ηδεως εμφαγεῖν.

p. 631. E.

SUETONIUS.—Fastidit vinum, quia jam bibit iste cruorem :

Tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit iste merum.

The universal dispenser of the blessings of Peace.

PATERCULUS.—Quando pax lætior? Diffusa in orientis occiden-
 tisque tractus, et quicquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur, pax
 Augusta per omnes terrarum orbis angulos nos a latrociniorum metu
 servat immunes.

ii. 126

PHILO.—τις γαρ ιδων Γαιον μετα την τε Τιβεριε Καισαρος τελευτην παρειλη-
 φοτα την ἡγεμονιαν πασης γης και θαλασσης ασιασιασον και ευνομον και πασι τοις
 μερεσιν ηρμοσμενον εις το συμφονον.

Leg. ad. C. p. 769. B.

—— την τε ειρηνην και τα της ειρηνης αγαθα παρασχομενον αχρι της τε βιε τελευτης
 αφθων και πλεσιῳ χειρι και γνωμη.

Ib. p. 783. F.

SUETONIUS.—Imprimis tuendæ pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumque licentiâ curam habuit. Stationes militum solito frequentiores disposuit. Romæ castra constituit, quibus Prætorianæ cohortes, vagæ ante id tempus, et per hospitia dispersæ, continenter. Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit; et ne orirentur sedulo cavit. Cæde, &c.—Cum Pollentina plebs, &c. iii. 37.

TACITUS.—Nobis in arto, et inglorius labor immota quippe aut modice laceffita pax mæstæ urbis res, et princeps proferendi incuriosus erat. *Ann. iv. 32.*

Permitted the worst of all civil wars to rage at Rome.

SENECA.—Nostri sæculi exempla non præteribo. Sub Tiberio Cæsare fuit accusandi frequens et pæne publica rabies, quæ *omni civili bello gravius* togatam civitatem confecit. Excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas jocantium nihil erat tutum: omnis sæviendi placebat occasio. Nec jam reorum exspectabatur eventus, quum esset unus. Cœnabat Paullus prætorius in convivio quodam, imaginem Tiberii Cæsaris habens, ectypam, et eminente gemmâ. Rem ineptissimam fecero, si nunc verba quæfiero, quemadmodum dicam illum matellam sumpsisse. Quod factum, simul et Maro, ex notis illius temporis vestigatoribus, notavit. At servus ejus cui nectabantur infidiæ, ei ebrio anulum extraxit. et cum Maro convivas testaretur, admotam esse imaginem obscænis, et jam subscriptionem componerat: ostendit in manu sua servus anulum. *l. iii. c. 26. de ben.*

TACITUS.—Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens (*agens?*) adversum proximos, congressus, colloquia, notæ ignotæque aures (*aurai?*) vitari: etiam muta atque inanima tectum et parietes circumspectabantur. *iv. 69.*

———— Neque senatus in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos, &c. *iv. 74.*

———— Inritatusque suppliciis, cunctos qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Sejano, necari jubet. Jacuit immensa strages: omnis sexus, omnis ætas: inlustres, ignobiles, dispersi aut aggregati. neque propinquis, aut amicis adfistere, inlachymare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur; sed circumjecti custodes, et in mærorem cujusque intenti, corpora putrefacta adfectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur: ubi fluitantia, aut ripis adpulsa, non cremare quisquam, non contingere. interciderat fortis humanæ commercium vi metus: quantumque sævitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur. vi. 19.

DION C.—παντες γαρ οι τινα τοιαυτην αιτιαν λαβοντες, εχ' οπως ιππεις, αλλα και βουλευται, εδ' οπως ανδρες, αλλα και γυναϊκες, ες το δεσμωτηριον συνεωθοντο. και καταψηφισθεντες, οι μιν εκει εκολαζοντο, οι δε και απο τῃ Καπιτωλιν υπο των δημαρχων η και των υπατων κατεκρημνιζοντο: και ες τε την αγοραν τα σωματα αυτων απαντων εριπιτετο, και μετα τῃτο ες τον ποταμον ενεβαλλετο. p. 630. E.

———— ε γαρ μινον οι κατηγορησαντες τινων εκρινοντο, αλλα και οι κατεψηφισμενοι τινων ανθελισκοντο. ετως εθ' ο Τιβεριος τινων εφειδετο, αλλα και πασιν αυτοις κατ' αλληλων απεχρητο, ετ' αλλον βεβαιον φιλον εδεναι ειχεν, αλλ' εν τῳ ισω και το αδικεν και το αναμαρτητον, το, τε υποπτυνον τι και το αδεες, προς την των Σηιανων εγκληματων ανακρισιν, εγιγνετο. p. 631. C.

———— τοσῃτον γαρ πληθος των τε αλλων και των βουλευτων απωλετο, ωσε τες αρχοντας, τες κληρωτες, τες μιν εσρατηγηκοτας, επι τρια, τες δ' υπατευκοτας, επι εξ ετη τας ηγεμονειας των εθνων, απορια των διαδεζομενων αυτες, σχειν.

p. 636. B.

Query—If Tiberius was the cause of all this civil strife why does Paternulus, in the 16th year of his reign, speak so highly of him? Why does V. Maximus say of him, after the death of Sejanus—Princeps parensque noster auctor ac tutela incolumitatis nostræ? Why does Seneca say of him—that he was superlatively great—that he had so many good qualities, and—that he, at his death, went to

the abode of the Gods? And why does Dion say, in two places, that the people thought that Tiberius knew nothing of the matter, and expected that things would, after the death of Sejanus, be better? At page 629, A. B., he says—*ολιγον τε πανυ το θαρσῆν ἦν, οσον ἐξω τε τῶν καθεισθηκει, και τον Τιβεριον ηπιωτερον γενησεσθαι προσεδοκα. τα τε γαρ συμβεβηκοτα σφισιν ες τον απολωλοτα (ωσπερ πε φιλει γιγνεσθαι) ετρεπον, και εκεινον η υδενος η ολιγων ητιῶντο. τα γαρ πλειονα, τα μεν ηγνοηκεναι, τα δε και ακοντα κατηναγκασθαι πρᾶξαι, ελεγον.*—And at p. 635. C.—*δοκῶντες γαρ οι ανθρωποι υπο τῷ Σηιανῳ παντα τα κατ' αυτες προτερον γινομενα και ελπισαντες σωθησεσθαι τοτε κ. τ. λ.*

Overcome by the pressure of family afflictions.

PATERCULUS.—Quid, ut juvenes amitteret filios? Quid, ut nepotem ex Druso suo? Dolenda adhuc retulimus: veniendum ad erubescenda est. Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum ejus? *Quamdiu* abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus ejus flagravat incendio? Quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote *dolere*, indignari, erubescere coactus est? Cujus temporis ægritudinem auxit mater eminentissima, &c. ii. 130.

TACITUS.—Profectio arto comitatu fuit cæteri liberalibus studiis præditi, ferme Græci, *quorum sermonibus levaretur.*

Ann. iv. 58.

—— At Cæsar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quanquam edicto monuisset, ne quis *quietem* ejus inrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur; perofus tamen municipia, et colonias, omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit.

Ann. iv. 67.

SUETONIUS.—Sed orbatus utroque filio &c.—secessum Campaniæ petiit: constanti et opinione et sermone pene omnium, quasi neque rediturus unquam, et cito mortem etiam obiturus: iii. 39.

————— Peragratâ Campaniâ Capreas se cōtulit ;
 Statimque revocante assiduâ obtestatione populo, propter cladem, qua
 apud Fidenas, transiit in continentem, potestatemque omni-
 bus adeundi sui fecit ; tanto magis quod ab urbe egrediens, ne quis se
 interpellaret, edixerat, ac toto itinere adeuntes submoverat. iii. 40.

DION C.—αφ' ἧ δὴ καὶ ἐξεσηκέναι τινες αὐτὸν τῶν φηγῶν ὑπὸ πτευσαν. ἔμεντοι
 καὶ οὕτως παραφρονεῖν ἐκ τούτων ἐπιστενέτο. τὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ παννὶ πάντα δεόντως
 δεῶκει. κ. τ. λ. l. 57. p. 618. E.

Negligent of the Gods but attentive to some one God.

SUETONIUS.—Vicina vero urbi oracula etiam dejicere conatus
 est. iii. 63.

————— Circa Deos et religiones negligentior : quippe addictus
 Mathematicæ : persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi. —. 69.

————— Supremo natali die suo Appollinem Temenitem et am-
 plitudinis et artis eximiæ advectum Syracusis, ut in bibliothecâ novi
 templi poneretur, viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi—Non posse
 se ab ipso dedicari. —. 74.

JOSEPHUS.—Josephus says, in the beginning of A. xviii. 7. θ., that
 Tiberius, the day before he died, prayed to the Gods of his country
 to be directed in the choice of a successor, and, in the sequel of that
 section, he also says, three times, that some *one God* directed him,
 according to his request, and that he obeyed the direction of that *one*
God, though contrary to his own wish.—μειζον δὲ δοξῆς τε καὶ βελήσεως τῆς
 αὐτῶν πεπιστευκῶς τῶ θεῷ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀποφαινόμενον.

N. B.—I.—How contradictory the evidence of ancient writers on
 this point seems to be.

PATERCULUS.—Sacrauit parentem suum Cæsar, non imperio sed
 religione : non appellavit eum, sed fecit Deum. ii. 126.

———— Quam piâ munificentîâ, superque humanam evecta fidem, templum patri molitur? ii. 130.

V. MAXIMUS.—Deos enim reliquos accepimus, Cæsares dedimus. Et quoniam initium a cultu Deorum petere in animo est, de conditione ejus summatim differam. *Prol. ad Tib.*

SENECA.—Appiæ viæ curator est: quâ scis et divum Augustum et Tiberium Cæsarem, ad Deos isse. *Apocolocynt. Cl. Cæs.*

SUETONIUS.—Peragratâ Campaniâ, cum Capuæ Capitolium, Nolæ Templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis prætenderat, dedicasset, Capreas se contulit; iii. 40.

TACITUS.—Sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios: et augendam cærimoniam loco, in quo tantum in Principem honorem Dii ostenderint. A. iv. 64.

———— At Cæsar dedicatis per Campaniam templis. —. 67.

JOSEPHUS.—εὐχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημεῖον τι προφαντοῦν αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενός. A. xviii. 7. θ.

This Josephus says of Tiberius the day before he died. And, that it was signified to him, by an omen, that he should appoint that son, for his successor, who should come first to him in the morning.

N. B.—2.—How contradictory the evidence of Josephus and Tacitus, concerning the time when Tiberius appointed a successor, from that of Suetonius? Suetonius says, iii. 76.—Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat: alterum suâ, alterum liberti manû, sed eodem exemplo: obsignaveratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento hæredes æquis partibus reliquit Caium ex Germanico, et Tiberium ex Druso, nepotes; substituitque invicem.

A friend of Jews and the maintainer of Jewish Rites.

JOSEPHUS.—Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθών.
A. xviii. 2. γ.

— Ἀγρίππας δὲ Τιβέριος δὲ ἔδεν ἐνδοιασας, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ γραφεὶ
φιλανθρωπία χρωμένους. ἐπὶ δὲ χαίρειν ἀποσημαίνων ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν ἐπανηκεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς
Καπρέας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνῆται, μὴδὲν ὑφελὼν τὴ ἐν τοῖς γραμμασὶν προθυμῶ, ἡσπάζε-
το καὶ ἐξενίζε.
— 7. δ.

N. B. Josephus also says that Tiberius reprimanded Pilate for attempting to infringe the customs of the Jews.—And, that he permitted them *again* to keep the sacred vestments.
A. xviii. 5. γ.

TACITUS.—Sub Tiberio quies. *Hist.* v. 9.

JOHN.—Ye have a custom that I should release unto you one at the Passover.
xviii. 39.

— Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar —that is, Tiberius.
xix. 12.

— We have no king but Cæsar.
— 15.

LUKE.—I persecuted even unto strange cities. *Acts.* xxvi. 11.

N. B. According to Josephus, B. i. 24. β. Augustus seems to have conferred this favor on Herod.—And who, but Augustus, could have granted them the privilege of demanding yearly one at the Passover? Tiberius, however, must have continued both those customs.

A hearer of the Law and a partial doer of it.

SUETONIUS.—Diogenes Grammaticus disputare Sabbatis Rhodi solitus, venientem, ut se extra ordinem audiret, non admiserat; ac per servulum suum in *septimum* diem distulerat.
iii. 32.

QUINCTILIAN.—Theodorus Gadareus, qui se dici maluit Rhodium: quem studiose audisse, cum in eam insulam secessisset Tiberius.
l. iii. c. 1.

N. B. Quintilian, l. v. c. 13, represents this celebrated teacher of Gadara as the leader of a sect.—And so does Strabo, l. xiii. xvi.—M. Seneca Controv. ix. p. 103. introduces Syriacus as speaking thus to Niger—Primum non apud eundem præceptorem studuimus. Tu Appollodorum habuisti, cui semper narrare placet : ego Theodorum cui non semper.

AGRIPPA.—In his letter to Caius, he reminded him, that Augustus had, at his own expence, ordered a bull and two lambs to be offered daily to the most high God.—This sacrifice, says he, has been continued to the present time—αι και μεχρι νυν εωπιτελενται.—Tiberius must, of course, also have continued this custom.

Epist. ad Caium. p. 801. F.

— τι δε ο ετερος σε παππος Τιβεριος Καισαρ ; εχι ταυτα φαινεται προηρημενος ; εν γαρ τρισιν και εικοσιν ετεσιν οis αυτοκρατωρ εγενετο την κατα το ιερον εκμηκισων χρονων παραδεδομενην θρησκειαν ετηρησεν.

p. 799. F.

PHILO.—Of Augustus he says—he had so great a reverence for our holy worship, *that all his domestics*, after his example, made presents to our temple.—He mentions the daily sacrifices, which, he says, are still continued—μνηυμα τροπων οντως αυτοκρατορικων.—And after having thus extolled the piety of Augustus, he subjoins—και επι Τιβεριε τον αυτον τροπων.

Leg. p. 785.

Remarkably inquisitive about Futurity.

TACITUS.—Jactis tamen vocibus per quas intelligeretur providus futurorum.

Ann. vi. 46.

JOSEPHUS.—παρον γαρ αν αυτω λυπης απηλλαγμενω τελευτα̃ν αμαθια τ̃ων εσομενων, διαφθειρεσθαι τω προεγνωκως την εσομενην δυσυχιαν τ̃ων φιλτατων τελευτα̃ν.

A. xviii. 7. θ.

By the evidence of Tacitus it appears, that Tiberius, though, as he says, a fatalist, was, at his last hour, concerned about futurity.—And, by that of Josephus, it appears, that Tiberius, though he had, a day or two before his death, prayed to be directed which of his two grandsons he should appoint for his successor, was very much concerned at the decision, but did as he was directed.—How differently do those five historians—Philo, Josephus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion C., speak of the conduct of Tiberius on this occasion—of the time when he thought of appointing a successor—and—of the manner in which he disposed of the young Tiberius?—Tacitus seems to say that he did not think of appointing a successor till a few days before he died, and, that he then, being unable to come to a determination on the point, left the decision of it to fate. Josephus says, that he, a day or two before he died, prayed to his God, to be directed whether he should leave Caius or Tiberius his successor, and that he was so directed, that though the decision was contrary to his wish, yet he complied with it, and only appointed Caius.—The other three, on the contrary, say that he appointed both Caius and Tiberius. Dion says, p. 636. A., that it was well known, nearly four years before his death, that he very readily—*απμενως*—intended to leave Caius his successor, and, in conjunction with Tiberius. Suetonius says, iii. 76.,—*Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat: alterum suâ, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo: obsignaveratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento hæredes æquis partibus reliquit, Caium ex Germanico, et Tiberium ex Drufo, nepotes: substituitque invicem.* This will Dion says, l. 59. init., Caius sent to the Senate, by Macro, and took care to have it invalidated.—And, that he, by disregarding the consideration of futurity, might have died in peace.—Josephus also tells us, that Tiberius forewarned Caius that the Gods would avenge the murder of his grandson Tiberius.

A believer in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

V. MAXIMUS.—Quod cætera divinitas opinione colligitur: tua
præfenti fide paterno avitoque fideri par videtur. *Prol. ad. Tib*

Query—Would any author have presumed to speak to any Autocrat, who had publicly notified his abhorrence of his being thought a God, of his inherent divinity? If V. M. does mean to do this, what can he have meant by—*præfenti fide*?

PATERCULUS.—Si aut natura patitur, aut mediocritas recipit hominum, apud aures Deorum de his queri; quid hic meruit?

ii. 130.

In the sentence immediately preceding, it should be observed, Paterculus speaks of a levy which Tiberius was then making—and—without causing any uneasiness—Quanta cum quiete hominum, rem perpetui præcipuique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione delectus providet?—Now when did he make this levy, if not in the sixteenth year of his reign? For Paterculus, we see, uses, not the past tense of the verb, but the present—*providet*.—That he had no occasion to make it, before the eleventh year of his reign, we find, by Tacitus, A. iv. 32,—Nobis in arto, et inglorius labor. Immota quippe aut modice laceffita pax, &c.—That he must have made it, after the fourteenth, we also find, by the same author, iv. 74,—Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen: dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permetteret.—That he made it more than a year after he resided at Capræ, we may presume, because Paterculus had, immediately before, spoken of his beneficence to the sufferers by the fire that happened on Mount Cœlius.—And—that he made it, not before the sixteenth year of his reign, why should we not conclude for the reason above assigned?—But for what reason did he make it? Suetonius, we find, says, iii. 37, that he, for some reason, stationed the military, at less intervals than usual, throughout Italy,

but of any levy he says not a word—on the contrary, he seems to say that he rendered such a step unnecessary—that he was very intent on preserving the peace from being disturbed by banditti and depredators, and the lawless—that he punished rioters most severely—that he put a stop to foreign commotions by discreet negotiations; and that he never after undertook any foreign expedition.—Was it to put a stop to that internal alarm which caused so much anxiety at Rome?—If so, he could never, as some have supposed, have encouraged it.—Was it to oppose Sejanus? Dion says, l. 58. p. 623. A., that Sejanus was then every thing with the Senate, the people, and the guards, and that Tiberius was next to nothing.—Besides—Suetonius says, iii. 65, that he suppressed Sejanus rather by craft and subtilty than by any princely means. Why then should we not suppose that he must have made it after the introduction of Christianity, when the unbelievers were so exasperated against believers—and—that this new levy consisted of Christian soldiers? Does not Dion seem to acknowledge something like this, l. 58. p. 628. E., where he says that the military, exasperated at finding that nocturnal guards, more in the faith of the Emperor, were employed—οἱ νυκτοφυλάκες σφῶν ἐς τὴν τῆ αυτοκράτορος πίσειν προετιμήθησαν—became incendiaries and depredators?

But the chief thing to be considered is whether this levy is any way connected with this complaint to the Gods of some Gods? By the expression, in this sentence—*de his queri*; it should seem that those sentences are connected. What then is the meaning of this? In vain have the learned endeavoured to explain this passage, they have not been able, even with the help of various readings, which they quote abundantly, and among the rest, the following—*De Deo cum Deis queri*—*Apud aures Deorum Deis queri*—*Auribus Deorum de dis queri*—*Audeo cum deis queri*.—Now if the first of those various readings should happen to be the right one, what God could

he have meant? Had the God of the Jews ever given the Romans cause to complain? Why then should we not suspect that he may have meant the mysterious Trinity of Christians? Or, if any of the other three should happen to be the right one, why should we not suspect that he improperly speaks of him as a plurality of Gods?

SENECA,—His instinctus, abstinere animalibus cœpi: et anno peracto non tantum facilis erat mihi consuetudo, sed dulcis. Agiliorum mihi animum esse credebam: nec tibi hodie affirmaverim, an fuerit. Quæris, quomodo desierim? In Tiberii Cæsaris principatum juventæ tempus inciderat: *alienigenarum sacra movebantur*: sed inter argumenta *superstitionis* ponebantur, *quorundam animalium* abstinentia. Patre itaque meo rogante, qui non calumniam timebat, sed philosophiam oderat, ad pristinam consuetudinem redii: nec difficulter mihi, ut inciperem melius cœnare, persuasit. *Ep. cviii. p. 635.*

Now why were the sacred rites of other nations discussed by the Senate, and in what year of Tiberius? Was it not the custom of the Romans to adopt the Gods of other nations? And did they not know that the religion of the Jews, who chiefly used to abstain from some sorts of meats, was secured by compact at the deposition of Archelaus? Did they not know that Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Agrippa, and Tiberius had always encouraged them in the exercise of it, even at Rome? That they had favored them with the most extraordinary privileges? Did they not know that Augustus had contributed yearly a large sum towards defraying the expence of their sacrifices? That most of his household had followed his example? Did they not know that Tiberius continued the same yearly contribution? That he, before the death of our Lord, reprimanded Pilate for attempting to profane the sanctity of the temple? Was not Livia acquainted with Salome?—Antonia with Berenice? And Drusus with Agrippa? Why then should we suppose that the sacred rites of the Jews were, at any time,

taken under consideration? Tacitus, we however find, tells us that they were, and in the fifth of Tiberius. And Lipsius, takes it for granted, that this was the year meant by Seneca. But why this report of Tacitus should be taken in preference to that of Philo, and Josephus, and of Suetonius too, who, speaking of the same event, say that it took place, after the death of our Lord, or, about the time that Tiberius abolished all the asylas, we cannot see. By the report of Josephus indeed, it appears, that Agrippa must have been then resident at Rome, and in high favor with Drusus. But is it not rather more probable, that by this, Seneca alludes to what happened in the eighth or ninth year, when says Tacitus, iii. 60., the Senate inspected the religions of the very Gods—*introspectit ipsorum numinum religiones*? The only objection which can be made to this supposition, is, that the abuse of asylas was the cause of this enquiry; and, that it does not appear that any religion was then calumniated, and especially for abstaining from certain sorts of meats; whereas, in this case, it seems, the reason was because some superstitiously abstained from meats, and seemingly through a spirit of philosophy to which some calumny was attached. A philosophy which the father of Seneca, who seems by his own account, l. ii. *Controv.*, and by his son's account, *Consol. ad Helviam*. c. 16., to have had no prejudice against philosophy, hated, and, for that reason perhaps dissuaded his son from abstaining from meats.—Neither of those events, then, mentioned by Tacitus, seems to answer the description of this here mentioned by Seneca.

Let us now then proceed to consider whether this event does not appear to be the same as that mentioned by Suetonius, Philo, and Josephus, when external ceremonies in general, and the rites of Ægyptians and Jews, and similar Sectaries, were suppressed at Rome, that is, a year or two after the death of our Lord.

Now that the Jews, the only people that abstained from meats, should have been expelled from Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, for exercising their religion, is very improbable, not only because he was much attached to them, but also because they enjoyed the right by compact with Augustus, and Tiberius held all his acts inviolable: besides--the supposition rests only on the report of Suetonius, for neither Philo nor Josephus say it—indeed, they assign a very different reason for their expulsion. Philo does not say that they were then expelled for their superstition, but for their strong attachment to Tiberius.—And Josephus says, that they were expelled for the misconduct of a pretended Rabbi, and two or three other vagabonds who had been driven from their own country. That this, however, could not have been the time here alluded to by Seneca, may be inferred from his saying that he persevered in the observance of this superstitious ceremony a year after the enquiry was made. This event then does not seem to correspond with that mentioned by Seneca, any more than those two mentioned by Tacitus. Besides--that Seneca was not at Rome in the 17th year of Tiberius appears from the last chap. of his *Consol. ad. Helviam*, where he says, that his aunt lost her husband (Vetrasius Pollio) as he was returning from the præfecture of Egypt, where he had been sixteen years, that is, from the return of Æmilius Rectus, who as Dion says, l. 57. 608. D., was recalled the first of Tiberius, u. c. 767.—And, that he was then, with them, *a witness* of it.

What then if we should suppose that those *sacra alienigenarum* were agitated, at the same time as Tiberius first introduced christianity at Rome, or, when, as Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerom say, he recommended Christ to the Senate, as a God, that is, as it seems, in the fourteenth year of his reign, for then, the *internus pavor* happened,—then the Senate went to the coast of Campania to desire to be favored with an interview with him, but were not—and, then, he, for the first time, seems not to have been willing to venture among them. About

three years after this, the gravissimum exitium, or, execrabilis superstitio, which crept in under the protection of Tiberius, was again repressed, that is, when the Jews and similar Sectaries or Christians were expelled from Rome. That all this is not far from the truth, why should we not infer from that expression—anno peracto—in the passage above quoted from Seneca?—And, from that other—sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur, quorumdam animalium abstinentia? For we know that some evil disposed persons commanded Christians to abstain from meats, i. Tim. iv. 1., that their religion was said to be a destructive superstition.

SENECA.—Cum interim usque eo *sceleratissimæ gentis* consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit: *vicli victoribus* leges dederunt.

Contra. Superstitiones.

This quotation is supposed to be from a work of Seneca the younger, and, to be spoken of Jews, but this does not seem to be at all likely, because he could not but have known that Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius patronized them: and because he says of them, not only, when, *in the mean time*, their practice so prevailed—and—that they were, even then, spread over all countries—but, that they had been, before the death of Nero, conquered, and had conquered their conquerors. Besides, Augustin, who, vi. 11, quotes this passage, says, we find, in two places of that chap., that the author, in the context, speaks of *their sacraments*.—Hic inter alias civilis theologiæ superstitiones reprehendit etiam *sacramenta* judæorum, et maxime sabbata: &c.—And, then again, immediately after he has adduced the above quotation, he subjoins the following remark—Mirabatur hæc dicens, et quid divinitus ageretur, ignorans. Subjecit plane sententiam qua significaret, quid illorum sacramentorum ratione sentiret. Ait enim:—Why then should we not suppose, for those reasons, that it is rather likely that he means Christians? Of this, says Lipsius, there can be no

doubt. But would Seneca, the younger, who, in his youth, for a year, abstained, in compliance with a certain superstition, from eating certain sorts of meats, and who is said, by so many ecclesiastical writers, to have been a Christian, have said, at any time, and especially in the latter part of his life, of Christians—that they were the most wicked of all people?—Again. If Seneca, the younger, was the author of this work, and here speaks of Christians, when had they, before he died, been conquered? Was it before, or after, they had been received every where? Was it not before, and at Rome only? When we consider what Tacitus says of the suppression of the execrabilis superstitio, and, of its having, afterwards burst forth, not only in Judea, but at Rome; and, also what he says of the suppression of the gravissimum exitium, and of its having, afterwards, blazed out, and overcome every thing, who can doubt, that Seneca, or whoever was the author of this work, alludes to this by—*sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo*—and, by *victi victoribus leges dedere*? Now if he does, can we suppose, that Seneca would have spoken of it forty years after it happened, as having happened *jam*, and, before they had been conquered, and had conquered their conquerors? Or, that he was but a little more than twenty when he said it? Is it not then very likely that Seneca jun. did not write it? And, on the other hand, when we consider that Seneca sen. endeavoured to dissuade his son from conforming with the superstition of abstaining from meats, and, because he hated the philosophy, is it not very likely that he was the author of it? Now if Seneca sen. was the author of this work, we have still stronger evidence that he could not have meant Jews, and that he could not but have meant Christians.—Would he have spoken thus of the religion of the Jews, knowing how it had been patronized both by Augustus and by Tiberius? Could he have said, before the death of Tiberius, (for he died before Tiberius) that the *Jews* had been conquered, and, that they had given laws to

their conquerors? Was it any news to the Romans that they had been every where received? Who then can doubt but that he was the author of this work, and that he meant Christians? Now if he did mean Christians, we find that the Christian religion, was, before his death, that is, before the death of Tiberius, received in every country,—that Christians had been conquered, and were even then conquerors, and gave laws to their conquerors.

SENECA Sen.—Hic est Corvus, qui quum tentaret scholam, Romæ, summo illi, qui Judæos subegerat, declamavit controversiam, de eâ, quæ apud matronas differebat, liberos non esse tollendos, et ob hoc accusatur Reip. læsæ. In hac controversiâ, sententia ejus hæc ridebatur. Inter pyxides et redolentis animæ medicamina constitit mytrata concio.

Suas. ii. p. 24.

In all the foregoing part of this ii. *Suas.* Seneca introduces several learned men celebrating the greatness of the resistance made by the Spartans, at Thermopylæ, under Leonidas, to Xerxes, who, it seems, defied the Gods. At the end of it, he adverts, and seemingly abruptly, to the attempt of Corvus to raise a school to that eminent commander, who subdued the Jews. How this is connected with the main subject of this *Suasoria*—viz. the opposition which the Spartans alone made to Xerxes, at Thermopylæ, it is not easy to discover: but so, it seems, it is supposed to be. Let us try to discover, if this account of Corvus be really so abruptly introduced as it appears to be.

Corvus attempted to set up a school, at Rome, and, to that most eminent person who had subdued the Jews. What sort of a school was this? And, who was this most eminent person?—Pompey, says the annotator. But was he the only conqueror of the Jews? Was not Anthony after him? Was Pompey entitled—*ille summus*—the most eminent? Was he more eminent than either Augustus or Anthony?

And admitting that Pompey was the most eminent subduer of the Jews, why should a school have been established to him, and, seemingly, on that account? What sort of a school can we suppose this to have been? Does not all this seem to point out the necessity of looking out for a very different, and still more eminent conqueror? one who could, with a much less number of followers than those who fell with Leonidas, effect a much more extensive conquest?—What then if we turn our eyes to the greatest of all great captains, Jesus Christ, who, with an inconsiderable party of unarmed followers, obtained a much greater victory over the world? That it is not altogether improbable that Seneca may have meant to allude to this most eminent conqueror, rather than to Pompey, why should we not conclude from what Seneca had before supposed Leonidas to have said of the vain attempt of Xerxes—viz. *ponat sane contra cœlum astra—commilitones Deos habeo*.

But though Seneca may not be allowed to have here thought of contrasting those two celebrated victories, obtained by so few combatants, in a good cause, over an immense host of assailants—yet, if it be allowed that he meant, by what he says in this quotation, to allude to this then recent victory obtained by this most eminent conqueror, we begin to perceive why Corvus should have thought of establishing a school to him, and why he was accused of *Reip. læsæ*, for having contended, in that school, before an audience of motherly women, that their children ought not to be brought up—that is, as we suppose, as usual.

———— Sabinus Clodius, in quem uno die et Græce et Latine declamantem multa urbane dicta sunt. Dixit Haterius quibusdam querentibus, pusillas mercedes eum accepisse, cum duas res doceret,

* *Rectius habebō—et castra*, ex conjecturâ et veteribus libris tribus.—Vulgati enim *astra*. Alludit ni fallor ad γιγάρτομαχιον Cyclopum, qui cum Diis bella gerentes, &c.

nunquam magnas mercedes accepisse eos qui ἐρμηνευματα docerent.

L. iv. *Controv.* 26. p. 183.

L. ix. C———. p. 266.

What were those teachers of ἐρμηνευματα, or, interpretations? Where else, in the works of the Roman or Greek writers do we read of them, but in one or two of the writings of Paul? If they taught extraordinary things, ought they not to have been extraordinarily rewarded? And yet we find they were not rewarded as well as others.

Those teachers of ἐρμηνευματα, it may not be amiss to observe, appear to have followed their profession before the death of Seneca, that is, before the death of Tiberius, and even before the death of Sejanus, for Sabinus, we are told, was, about that time, imprisoned.

TACITUS.—Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio prætentata crimina: ut quibus initiis, quantâ arte Tiberii, gravissimum exitium irreperit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit, cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur.

Ann. i. 73.

Here we are told of some crimes, committed by two Roman knights, which were hard to be found, by detecting which he promises to let us know how a certain most grievous pest, by the no little artifice of Tiberius, at first, crept in: how it was then repressed, and then again blazed forth, and overcame every thing.

Now what were those groped for crimes? And how so intimately connected with this most grievous pest, that the bare mention of those, would, of course, lead to a knowledge of this? What most grievous pest did Tiberius, with no little contrivance, at first, introduce? And in what part of his reign? Is it not rather strange that neither V. Maximus, nor Paternulus, nor either of the Senecas, nor Suetonius, nor either of the Jewish writers, nor Dion C., mentions his having done it?

Nor, any such pest having been introduced? In order to get some insight into the nature of this undescribed most frightful phenomenon, let us hear what Tacitus here says of those crimes of darkness which he tells us will lead us to a knowledge of it—for no where else does he speak of them.

In this chap., we find, he speaks of a certain crime or two of each of those knights, but then there was not the least occasion to grope for any of them, for they were, by his own account, manifest to every body. To Falanius, he says, that it was objected, that he had admitted, among the worshippers of Augustus, who, he says, assembled *in every house*, as a sort of collegiate body, one Cassius, a mimic, and of a disgusting person.—And also that he had disposed of, together with a garden, a statue of Augustus.—These were the two charges against Falanius. To Rubrius—that he had taken a false oath by Augustus. But were either of those a crime of darkness? Or, will they lead us to a knowledge of this most grievous pest, which Tiberius, so artfully, introduced? Does Tacitus, in the sequel, give us any encouragement to think so? As soon, continues he, as Tiberius knew it, *he wrote* to the consuls an apology for each of them. In which, after having observed that heaven was not decreed to Augustus for the destruction of any one, he vindicated Falanius, by saying that Cassius, the actor, used, as others of the same way of life, to be present at the sports, which his mother *had* consecrated to the memory of Augustus: And, that it was not contrary to religion, to dispose of his effigies, with gardens or houses, any more than to dispose of those of any other Deities. And Rubrius, by saying that he had committed no greater offence than if he had committed it against Jupiter. Offences against the Gods were only to be punished by the Gods.

If now those crimes were so very notorious, and Tiberius did not think that they were crimes, at least cognizable by man, why would

Tacitus have it thought that they were works of darkness, and that the bare specification of them would tend to elucidate this most grievous pest, and as surreptitiously introduced by the no little artifice of Tiberius? Surely, if Tacitus meant no more than what he here says, he appears to have rendered his own testimony questionable. And, instead of rendering it credible that Tiberius introduced this most grievous pest, to have said what makes not a little against the supposition.

But did Tacitus here mean to say all that he had to say of this matter? And that those crimes were committed in the second year of Tiberius? If he did mean to say this, may we not suppose that Tiberius introduced this *gravissimum exitium*, soon after? But how can we suppose this when we recollect what Tacitus says in two or three places of his iv. book? In the first chap. he says that every thing was well managed by Tiberius till the ninth year of his reign, and, that he then began to be cruel himself, or to permit others to be so. But however cruel he may then be supposed to have begun to be, it is pretty plain, from what Tacitus again says, c. 32., that he could not have introduced this *gravissimum exitium* before the thirteenth year of his reign was pretty well ended, for he there complains, that he had till that time only a contracted and inglorious task, that the peace of the empire was fixed, or, at most, but little disturbed, that the affairs of Rome were (not surely mournful, unless on account of the fall of the Amphitheatre, at Fidenæ, and the burning of a considerable part of the city,) but dull, or uninteresting.—And after having said this, he proposes to tell us of what advantage it may be to contemplate this *even* surface of things.—“ Yet it will not be useless to inspect closely that even surface from which the greatest commotions often arise.”—*Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur.* Now after having said all this in the 32 chapter who would have

expected to find him saying in the next, what appears to be of a very different tendency? In that chap. he proceeds to observe how much more interesting the works of former writers must be supposed to be than his who had nothing more to record than—cruel mandates, continued accusations, fallacious friendships, *the destruction of innocent persons*, and such like transactions. Of all this, it should be observed, he complains, but a little before Tiberius retired from Rome, which step, he would have us to believe, he was compelled to take in order to avoid being a witness of the domineering pretensions of his mother, who was then near ninety, and, as the learned, he also observes, thought never to return, though by what he says, chap. 66, the Senate was of a very different opinion. Indeed, if it was generally thought that he would never return, why should the people, as Suetonius says, iii. 40, attempt to recall him, *from Capreæ*, by a continued importunity, when the Amphitheatre, at Fidenæ, fell?

Again—that Tiberius was, by no means likely to have encouraged any of those evils, before the end of the thirteenth year of his reign, is evident from what Tacitus says, iv. 62, of his humane conduct to the sufferers at Fidenæ;—and also, 64, to the sufferers at Rome, when, a little after, a great part of the city was burnt;—and, from the reception which he met with from the people, on the former occasion, and from the Senate, on the latter;—and from the honor, which, he says, the Gods then shewed him. And that Tiberius had not, at that time, begun to encourage accusers, in particular, is evident, from what he says, in chap. 66, of the accusation of his kinsman Varus Quinctilius, and of the Senate's having deferred to pass sentence on him till the arrival of Tiberius, who, as he acknowledges, was then the only suffugium in such hard cases. Indeed if he was then overcome by the pressure of family afflictions, how can he be supposed to have encouraged any of those evil practices, and much less can he during the three following years, for Paternulus, we find, asks

Vinicius, ii. 130.—Quantis, hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus, laceravit animum ejus? Quamdiu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus ejus flagravat incendio?

The gravissimum exitium then does not appear to have been any way connected with those crimes of Falanius and Rubrius, that is—if those crimes were committed in the second year of Tiberius. But is it not likely that those crimes were committed after the death of Livia? May we not conclude from his saying that Tiberius *wrote* to the Consuls on this occasion, that he was then not at Rome?—Or, rather that he was then at Capreæ? Was it his usual practice to write to the Senate before he retired? Does not Tacitus say, iv. 55, that he used to attend the Senate *frequently*? And does he not say, c. 66, that the Senate, in the case of Varus Quinctilius, waited his return? And because he was, in such cases, the only suffugium? and may we not also conclude from his having said that his mother *had* consecrated those sports to the memory of Augustus, that those crimes were committed after her decease? Would he have said, in her life time, of any thing appointed by her to be continued during her life, that she *had* appointed it? Would it not be more proper for him to have said that she *hath* appointed it?

—— Quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est. *Repressa*que in *præsens* exitiabilis *superstitio* rursus *erumpebat*, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed *per urbem* etiam. A. xv. 44.

Whoever will be at the pains to compare the last clause of this passage with that passage immediately preceding, quoted from Ann. i. 73, will no longer doubt of the meaning of that. Exitiabilis *superstitio*, corresponds to gravissimum exitium—*dein repressum* fit, to, *repressa*que in *præsens*—*rursus erumpebat*, to, *postremo arserit*—

and, non modo per Judæam sed per urbem etiam, to, cunctaque corripuerit.—And whosoever will be at the pains to compare both of those passages with the last of those adduced by Augustin, vi. c. 11, from Seneca, will be inclined to think that they all mean the same thing. Indeed, if Augustin quoted that from Seneca, the father, who can (as he is said to have died before Tiberius) help thinking that those three passages evidently do so?

If now Tiberius, by no small artifice, introduced this most grievous pest and destructive superstition, who can doubt of his having been a believer in Jesus Christ, that is—in his divinity? For what occasion was there for any artifice to introduce a preacher of morality at Rome? Would the Romans have thought of engaging in the worst of civil wars on that account?

——— Manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas. iv. 67.

Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens (*agens?*) adversum proximos, congressus, colloquia, notæ ignotæque aures (*aurai?*) vitari: etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur. —. 69.

——— Neque senatus in eo cura, an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos cui, &c.—Et revenere in urbem trepidi, quos non sermone non visu dignatus est: quidam male alacres, quibus infauftæ amicitiae *gravis exitus* imminebat. —. 74.

——— Ne (*ni?*) cælestis religio decerneretur. sic ipsam maluisse. v. 2.

——— Novas conciones, nova patrum consulta. —. 4.

DION C.—και οι στρατιῶται, αγανακτῶντες οτι αυτοι τε ες την τῷ Σηιανῷ ευνοϊαν υπωπτευθησαν, και οι νυκτοφυλακες σφων ες την τε αυτοκρατορος πρην προετιμηθησαν, εμπρησεις τε και αρπαγας εποιῶντο, καιτοι παντων τῶν εν ταῖς αρχαῖς οντων το αςυ πᾶν εκ τῆς τῷ Τιβεριο εντολῆς φυλαττοντων. p. 628. E.

Query—If the soldiers, that is, the prætorian (δορυφοροι, as Dion says, p. 623, B.) were suspected of favoring Sejanus, why does Suetonius tell us, chap. 48, that they were rewarded by Tiberius for not having favored him? And, if they were so dissatisfied, because night-watches more in *the faith of the Emperer*—*ἐς τὴν τῷ αυτοκράτορος πίσιν*—were thought more trust-worthy, as to become incendiaries and depredators, even though the magistrates were ordered by Tiberius to keep the peace, why should they be supposed to have been rewarded by him at all?—Especially so very handsomely? Do not both Suetonius, chap. 37, and Tacitus, ii, say that he was for nothing so anxious as to keep every thing quiet? *Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit; et ne orirentur sedulo cavit:—Nihil enim ipsum tam anxium habuit, quam ne composita turbarentur.*—How differently does V: Maximus speak of this affair, l. ix. 11.—*Aræ pulvinaria, templa præsentī numine vallata sunt: Nihilque quod pro capite Augusti, ac patria excubare debuit torpere sibi permisit.*—Would Maximus have said so, a year or two after, if the prætorian bands had been attached to Sejanus, and if they had been incendiaries and depredators?

TERTULLIAN.—Tiberius ergo cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit. Annunciata sibi ex Syria Palæstinâ quæ illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverunt, detulit ad senatum cum prærogativâ suffragii sui. Senatus, qui non ipse probaverat, respuit: Cæsar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus christianorum.

Apol. c. 5.

EUSEBIUS.—Ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τῆς Ρωμαίων νομοῦ ἀκριβῶς, ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ἐνδοξός, καὶ τῶν μαλίστα ἐπὶ Ρώμης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ. κ. τ. λ.

Ecc. hist. ii: 2.

— οὗτος Πιλάτος Τίβεριον τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀναγαγὼν καὶ τὴν χριστιανικὴν δογματικὴν, ἐκίνησεν εἰς ἐρωτὰ πίσεως. Τίβεριος τε πρὸς τὴν συγκλήτην ἐκοινολόγησατο περὶ τῆς εἰς χριστὸν πίσεως.

Chron.

JEROM.—Pilato de christianorum dogmate referente, Tiberius retulit ad senatum, ut *inter cætera sacra reciperetur*.

Query—Did this latent monster of lust and cruelty, who was, as Tacitus says, ashamed to be seen, who, as Josephus says, was indifferent about most things, and who as both Suetonius and Tacitus say, was notoriously a fatalist, not only permit a superstition so destructive to creep into Rome, in spite of the Senate, but by his inconceivable artifice procure an entrance for it?—If he did how did the Senate act?

The abolisher of all Sanctuary Protections.

TACITUS.—Sed Tiberius vim principatus sibi firmans imaginem antiquitatis senatui præbebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo. Crebrescebat enim Græcas per urbes licentia et impunitas asyla statuendi: complebantur templa pessimis servitorum: eodem subsidio obæratî adversum creditores, suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut cæremonias Deum protegentis. Igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates jura, atque legatos. . . . Magnaque ejus diei species fuit, quo senatus majorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam, qui ante vim Romanam valuerant decreta, ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret, mutaretve.

A. iii. 60.

SUETONIUS.—Abolevit et jus moremque asylorum quæ usquam erant.

iii. 37.

The first Prohibitor of immediate Executions.

SUETONIUS.—Nam cum Senatus consulto cautum esset ut pæna damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur.

iii. 75.

TACITUS.—*Igitur factum S. C. ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad ærarium deferretur.*

A. iii. 15.

DION C.—ΕΠΕΤΙΜΗΣΕ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΓΜΑ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ, ΜΗΤ' ΑΠΟΘΗΝΗΣΚΕΙΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΨΗΦΙΣΘΕΝΤΑ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΩΝ, &c.

l. 57. p. 617. A.

The nursing Father of the Infant Catholic Church.

CLEMENS OF R.—Cumque nullum videremus exitum rei, supervenit Cornelius Centurio, missus a Cæsare ad præsidem Cæsareæ, publici negotii causâ: hunc accersimus ad nos solum, causamque ei qua mæsti essemus exponimus; ac si quid posset, ut juvaret, hortamur. Tum ille promptissime repromittit se eum protinus fugaturum, si tamen consilio ejus etiam nos adniteremur: cumque nos polliceremur impigre cuncta gessuros, ait; Cæsar in urbe Româ, et per provincias maleficos inquire jussit ac perimi; ex quibus multi jam perempti sunt.

Recogn. l. x. c. 55. & c. 56. 58. 59.—and Apost. Const. vi 8.

— ο δε Σιμων αχθας επιδημησειν τινας εκ της προσαγης Βασιλικης επιζητηντας αυτον, και φασκοντας καθ' οτι Καισαρ πολλας μαγας ανελων, ειτα και τα κατα Σιμωνα ποθομενος εις επιζητησιν αυτη περιψειεν, οπως και αυτον ομοιως κολαση.

Epit. de gestis S. Petri—cxxxiv.

N. B. In each of these extracts Clemens speaks of Simon—and, in the former, he says, that Cornelius, the Centurion, had then been converted to the faith—that he was sent, on some public business, by Tiberius, to the President of Cæsarea—that is, surely to Pilate; that Cæsar had, both at Rome, and through the provinces, caused inquisition to be made for the maleficent—and, in the latter, for Simon in particular—and, in both he says, that he had, *before that time*, but how long we know not, caused many of those maleficent—or—magi, to be put to death. How long then, before this mission of Cornelius to the President of Cæsarea, had Cæsar caused the maleficent to be sought out and put to death—and, in particular, at Rome?

In his Homily, i. 6. 7., Clemens also says that, in the course of the year in which our Lord suffered—that is, in the fourteenth of Tiberius, there were frequent meetings all over Rome to enquire what this new messenger from God had done and said;—that before the autumn of that year Barnabas, standing in the most frequented place in that city, preached eternal life in the name of the son of God—that tumults ensued, and that Barnabas was obliged to take shelter in the house of Clemens.

Tacitus, we have seen, says, that the execrable superstition, was for the *present*—in *præsens*—repressed, and—that the *most grievous pest*, which was introduced by the no little artifice of Tiberius, was also repressed—and, that unaccountable uneasiness prevailed all over Rome in the fourteenth year of Tiberius.

Early in the year following the Sanhedrin, on the accusation of certain libertines—that is, surely, Jews made free of Rome, stoned Stephen, as a blasphemer, and continued the practice of stoning Jewish believers, as blasphemers, (even those of strange cities) a year or two from that time.—Consequently, why should we not conclude from this, that those libertines were, on their return to Rome, very forward to seize Jewish believers, as blasphemers, for the purpose of getting them stoned by the Sanhedrin? And that great disturbances were, by that means only, if the Senate had not then refused to acknowledge the divinity of Christ, occasioned as Tacitus seems to say, A. iv. 70., at Rome?—That the Senate encouraged the persecutors—and Tiberius, protected believers? Of this, we however, are assured by both Josephus and Suetonius that, after the resurrection, Tiberius sent 4,000 libertines to Sardinia—and by Philo, that it happened before the fall of Sejanus. All those historians agree that the Jews also were then expelled: and not the Jews only but the Egyptians—and, as Suetonius says, the *familia sectantes*. Consequently—why

should we not suppose, that the execrable superstition of the familia sectantes was, as Tacitus says, repressed, about the same time that those libertines were sent to Sardinia?

TERTULLIAN.—Comminatus periculum accusatoribus christianorum. *Apol. c. 5.*

EUSEBIUS.—της δε μη πειθομενης, αλλα μαριαν ηγυμενης το κηρυγμα τε
σαυρη, ο αυτος θανατον εψηφισατο κατα των διωκτων των χριστιανων, ως Τερτυλλιανος
ισορει. *Chron,*

JEROM.—Verum quum ex consulo patrum Christianos eliminari urbe placuisset, Tiberius per edictum accusatoribus Christianorum comminatus est mortem. *Chron.*

N. B. It seems to have been, on this account, that Tiberius, who in the ninth year of his reign, acquired no little praise for discouraging informers, is accused, by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion C. of having encouraged them.

The Protector of Jewish Christians as not Blasphemers.

TALMUD OF J.—A tradition: forty years before the Temple was destroyed, judgement, in capital cases, was taken away from Israel.
—*Lightfoot hebrew and talmudical exercitations on Matth. xxvi. 3.*—*John xviii. 31. p. 248.*

LUKE.—And he (Saul) spake boldly (at Jerusalem) in the name of the Lord Jesus, &c.—Then had the churches rest, throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. *Acts ix. 29. 30. 31.*

What?—Did the Sanhedrin, who had commissioned him to seize, not only in Judea, but in strange cities, Jewish believers, and to imprison them for the purpose of trying them as blasphemers, and stoning them, suffer their own officer to speak boldly, even at Jerusalem, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and without attempting even to molest

him? How is this unexpected forbearance on the part of the Sanhedrin to be accounted for? Why did they, who had been so zealous and active in endeavouring to suppress this new sect, and as Tacitus says, had actually succeeded, so tamely suffer their own servant to preach Christ, as it were in defiance of them? Had they relinquished the practice of stoning Christians as blasphemers? If so—why did they relinquish it—and when? Could Tiberius have interposed his authority between the Sanhedrin and believers? Tertullian, we find, says that he threatened *periculum* to the accusers of Christians.—Eusebius and Jerom say that he threatened death to them. And their report seems to be supported by that of Clemens of R. But may not Tertullian have, by *periculum*, meant the punishment which Tiberius threatened before the stoning of believers as blasphemers? Would Tiberius have threatened death to such as should accuse Christians of worshipping a God not authorised by the Senate? Was death the punishment for introducing an unauthorised Diety? If so, was not Tiberius himself liable to that punishment? Jerom, we find, says that the Senate ordered Christians only to leave Rome. May not Tiberius then, have first threatened *periculum*, and afterwards death?

Of all Kings or Autocrats the most venerable.

PHILO.—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; καὶ πῶς μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέων ἢ αυτοκρατορῶν
ἐγγήρως; 780 F.

As some affirmed, prefigured by that of a Phœnix.

TACITUS.—P. F. et L. V. Cofs. post longum seculorum ambitum, avis Phœnix in Ægyptum venit; præbuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum, et Græcorum multa super eo miraculo differendi.

A. vi. 28.

DION.—Εἰ δὲ τὰ καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτια πρὸς τῆς Ρωμαίων προσηκεῖ, ὁ φοῖνιξ ἐκεῖνῳ
τῷ ἐτεῖ ὤφθη, καὶ ἐδόξε τὸν θάνατον τῷ Τιβερίῳ προσημεινεῖν. l. 58. p. 638. B.

Solemnized with due pomp and at the public Expence.

SUETONIUS.—Tiberio cum plurimis lacrymis pro concione laudato, funeratoque amplissimē: iv. 15.

DION C.—και δημοσιας ταφης ετυχε, και επηγεθη υπο τε Γαιου.

Sub. fine. l. 56.

Followed Augustus to the residence of the Gods.

SENECA.—Appiæ viæ curator est: quâ scis et divum Augustum, et Tiberium Cæsarem ad Deos isse. *Apocolocynt. Cl. Cæs.*

A SYNOPSIS of CHRONOLOGY

DURING THE LIFE

OF

TIBERIUS.

A. C.	U. C.	A. R.	CONSULS.		H. R.	Olympiad		
36	711		Pansa	OCT.	Hirtius	Q. PED. . .	184	1 2
5	2	1	L. M. Plancus		M. Æmil. Lepidus			2 3
4	3	2	L. Antonius		P. Servil. Isauricus			3 4
3	4	3	Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus .		C. Asinius Pollio		H. 185	4 1
2	5	4	L. M. Censorinus		C. Calvis. Sabinus		1	1 2
1	6	5	App. Claud. Pulcher		C. Norban. Flaccus		2	2 3
30	7	6	M. Vips. Agrippa		C. Canin. Gallus		3	3 4
9	8	7	L. Gell. Poplicola		M. Cocc. Nerva		4	186
8	9	8	L. Carnificus		S. Pomponius		5	1 2
7	720	9	M. Antonius		L. Scrib. Libo		6	2 3
6	1	10	OCTAVIUS ii		L. Volcat. Tullius		7	3 4
5	2	1	Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus .		C. Sosius		8	187
4	3	2	OCTAVIUS iii		M. Valer. Messala		9	1 2
3	4	3	OCTAVIUS iv		M. Licin. Crassus		10	2 3
2	5	4	OCTAVIUS v		S. Apuleius		1	3 4
1	6	5	OCTAVIUS vi		M. Vips. Agrippa		2	188
20	7	6	OCT. AUG. vii		M. Vips. Agrippa		3	1 2
9	8	7	AUGUSTUS viii		T. Statil. Taurus		4	2 3
8	9	8	AUGUSTUS ix		M. Jun. Silanus		5	3 4
7	730	9	AUGUSTUS x		C. Norban. Flaccus		6	189

711.—Tiberius born, Nov. 16.

714.—Herod made king by Ant. and Oct. in the 184 Oly. (1)—Oct. takes Livia Nov. Tib. then *trimus*. (2)717.—Drusus born, Feb.—Jer. taken in the harvest *after* a sabbatical year. (3)

722.—The first lustrum, which ended with a Census by Cæsar, begun.

723.—The battle of Actium fought on the 2d Sept. (4)

725.—The temple of Janus shut.—The Actian, &c. triumphs, Tib. *pubescens*. (5)
Cæsar entitled *Autocrator* in a new sense.

726.—The first Census by Cæsar ended.—Made Prin. Sen.—The first Actian games. (6)

727.—Augustus made governor of the provinces for ten years. (7)

729.—Tiberius made *ædile* in Spain.—The temple of Janus shut.730.—Tib. made *quæstor*, and permitted to take offices five years before others.(1) *Jos. A.* xiv.—(2) *Paterc.* ii. 94.—(3) *Jos. A.* xiv. .—(4) *Dion* l. 50.(5) *Suet.* iii. 6.—(6) *Dion* l. 53.—(7) *Ibid.* 53. p. 496. C. D.

A SYNOPSIS of CHRONOLOGY

DURING THE LIFE

OF

TIBERIUS.

A. C.	U. C.	A. R.	CONSULS.		H. R.	Olympiad	
6	731	20	AUGUSTUS xi.	Cn. Calpurn. Piso	17	189	1 2
5	2	1	M. Claud. Marcellus	L. Arruntius	8		2 3
4	3	2	L. Æmil. Lepidus	M. Lollius	9		3 4
3	4	3	M. Apuleius	P. Silius Nerva	20	190	4 1
2	5	4	C. Sent. Saturninus	Q. Lucret. Vespillo	1		1 2
1	6	5	P. C. Lentulus	Cn. Corn. Lentulus	2		2 3
10	7	6	C. Furnius	C. Jul. Silanus	3		3 4
9	8	7	L. Dom. Ahenobarbus ..	P. Com. Scipio	4	191	4 1
8	9	8	M. L. D. Libo	L. Calpurn. Piso.	5		1 2
7	740	9	Cn. Corn. Lentulus	M. Licin. Crassus	6		2 3
6	1	30	TIBERIUS	P. Quinct. Varus	7		3 4
5	2	1	M. Val. Mess. Barbatus	P. Sulpit Quirinus	8	192	4 1
4	3	2	Q. Æl. Tubero	P. Fab. Maximus	9		1 2
3	4	3	Q. Fabius	Jul. Antonius	30		2 3
2	5	4	DRUSUS	T. Quinct. Crispinus	1		3 4
1	6	5	C. M. Censorinus	C. Asin. Gallus	2	193	4 1
C. N.	7	6	TIBERIUS ii.	Cn. Calpurn. Piso.	3		1 2
1	8	7	D. L. Balbus	C. A. Vetus	4		2 3
2	9	8	AUGUSTUS xii.	C. Sylla	5		3 4
3	750	9	C. Sabinus	P. Rufus	6	194	4 1

731.—Augustus dangerously ill.—Marcellus dies.

732.—Augustus goes to Sicily.

733.—Agr. marries Jul.—Augustus goes to Greece, and winters at Samos.

Tib. marches through Macedonia—and is sent against Armenia. (1)

734.—Aug., in the spring, goes to Asia—thence to Syria—Caius born.—Aug. gives to Herod the tetrarchy of Zen.—Sends for Tib. to expel Artabar, and to restore Tigr.—Tib. begins to expect the Monarchy.—Aug. returns to Samos, and there again winters.

735.—Augustus returns to Rome.

737.—Lucius born.

742.—Agrippa died.—Tiberius marries Julia.

747.—Aug. begins his second Census —Christ born.

748.—Tib. invested with tribunitial power for five years—retires to Rhodes.

749.—Caius puts on the Toga virilis.

750.—Herod dies after having reigned about 36½ years.

(1) *Strabo*. l. xvii.

A SYNOPSIS of CHRONOLOGY

DURING THE LIFE

OF

TIBERIUS.

A. D.	U. C.	A. R.	CONSULS.		A. R.	Olympiad	
4	751	40	L. Gætulicus	M. Messalinus	1	194	1 2
5	2	1	AUGUSTUS xiii.	<i>Gall. Caninius</i>	2		2 3
6	3	2	C. C. Lentulus	L. Calpurn. Piso	3		3 4
7	4	3	CAIUS	L. Æmil. Paulus	4	195	4 1
8	5	4	P. Vinicius Nepos	P. Alphin. Varus	5		1 2
9	6	5	L. Æl. Lania	L. Servil. Germinus	6		2 3
10	7	6	T. Æl. Catus	C. Sent. Saturninus	7		3 4
1	8	7	L. Valer Messala	Cn. Corn. Cinna	8	196	4 1
2	9	8	M. Æmil. Lepidus	L. Arrunt. Nepos	9		1 2
3	760	9	L. Licin. Nerva	Cn. Metell. Creticus			2 3
4	1	50	M. Fur. Camillus	S. Non. Quinctilianus ..			3 4
5	2	1	Q. Sulpit. Camerinus ..	C. Popp. Sabinus		197	4 1
6	3	2	P. Corn. Dolabella	C. Jun. Silanus			1 2
7	4	3	M. Æmil. Lepidus	T. Statil. Taurus			2 3
8	5	4	GERMANICUS	C. Font. Capito			3 4
9	6	5	C. Silius Nepos	L. Munat. Plancus		198	4 1
40	7	r.6	S. Pomp. Nepos	S. Apul. Nepos			1 2
1	8	1	DRUSUS	C. Norbanus			2 3
2	9	2	Statil. Sisen. Taurus	L. Scribon. Libo			3 4
3	770	3	C. Cæcil. Rufus	L. Pomp. Flaccus		199	4 1

751.—Caius, *after his travels*, and, *before he took the command in the east*, heard the validity of Herods will discussed. (1)

752.—The second Census by Aug. ended.—Censore me et Caninio Coss. (2)
Lucius puts on Toga virilis.

755.—Lucius died.—Tiberius recalled.—Drusus puts on the Tog. vir.

757.—Caius died.—Tiberius adopted.

759.—Archelaus deposed.—Christ went up to Jer.—12 years old.

760.—Agrippa banished, and his effects put into the military chest.

762.—Tiberius made Princeps Senatus, and coll. with Aug. in the Censorship.

767.—The third Census by Augustus ended.

(1) *Jos. A.* xvii. 9. ε.—(2) *Ancy. mar.*—*Paterculus* ii. 100.

A SYNOPSIS of CHRONOLOGY

DURING THE LIFE

OF

TIBERIUS.

A. D.	U. C.	T. R.	CONSULS.		Before the fall of Jerusalem	Olympiad	
24	771	4	TIBERIUS iii.	GERMANICUS ii.		199	1 2
5	2	5	M. Jun. Silanus	Norban. Placcus			2 3
6	3	6	M. Valerius	M. Aurelius			3 4
7	4	7	TIBERIUS iv.	DRUSUS ii.		200	4 1
8	5	8	C. Sulpitius	D. Haterius			1 2
2	6	9	C. Asinius	C. Antistius			2 3
30	7	10	C. Cethegus	V. Visell. Varro			3 4
1	8	1	C. Lentulus	Asin. Agrippa		201	4 1
2	9	2	Cn. Lent. Gætulicus ...	C. Calvisius			1 2
3	780	3	M. Licin. Crassus	L. Calpurn. Piso			2 3
4	1	4	App. Jun. Silanus	P. Sil. Nerva	42		3 4
5	2	5	C. Rubellio—Gem	C. Fufius—Gem.	1	202	4 1
6	3	6	C. C. Longinus	M. Vinuc. Quartinus ...	40		1 2
7	4	7	TIBERIUS v.	L. Æl. Sejanus	9		2 3
8	5	8	Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus .	M. Fur. Camillus	8		3 4
9	6	9	Ser. Sulpit. Galba	L. Corn. Sylla	7	203	4 1
40	7	20	P. Fab. Persicus	L. Vitellius	6		1 2
1	8	1	C. Cæst. Gall. Camerinus	M. Servil. Rufus	5		2 3
2	9	2	Q. Plaut. Plautianus ...	Sext. Papinius	4		3 4
3	720	3	Cn. Aceron. Proculus ..	C. Pont. Nigrinus	3	204	4 1

777.—Pilate made Proc. of Judæa.—Our Lord baptised, when near 30.

778.—The Temple 46 years building.—Begun 732, in the 15th of Herod. (1)

779.—Tiberius makes the tour of Campania.—The last Jubilee begins.

781.—Tiberius retires to Capreæ.—Our Lord when about 32, crucified, 42 years before the fall of the Temple.—Great disorders at Rome.

782.—Livia dies, and leaves orders to refuse all honors ne (ni?) cœlestis, &c.

783.—The power of stoning Jewish believers as blasphemers taken from the Jews 20 years before the fall of the temple. (2)

784.—The Christians expelled by the Senate from Rome, and protected by Tiberius.

788.—Pilate sent to Rome and dies on his passage.—Cornelius converted by Peter who was blamed for eating with him by the other Apostles.

(1) *Josephus B. i. 21. α.*—(2) *Talmud of Jer.*

THE HISTORY
OF
T I B E R I U S,
THE
First Defender of the true Faith.

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CHAPTER I.

Tiberius born v. c. 711.

SUETONIUS says, iii. 5, that Tiberius was born, either in the first consulship of Augustus, or in that of Plancus and Lepidus, or in that of L. Antonius and P. S. Isauricus, that is, either v. c. 711, 712, or 713. The same writer adds—that it appeared by the public records, that he was born 712, and that most chronologists, and, among them the better informed, were convinced that he was born in that year. The opinion of those better informed, Suetonius himself seems, by what he says, c. 73, of the age of Tiberius, at his death, to have followed: He there says that Tiberius died 17 kal. April—i. e. the 16th March in the year of Rome 790, and that he was then in his 78th year.—Consequently if he had lived till the 16th of November he would have been full 78.—Whether Suetonius was always of the same persuasion we may, as we extend our enquiries, be able to discover.

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

Tacitus also seems to have followed the opinion of those better informed, for he says, Ann. vi. 50, that Tiberius, at his death (which, he says, happened in March 790,) was in the 78th year of his age. In which case he must have been born in November 712. Now if he was born in November 712, he must, in November 741, when he was the first time consul, have been 29 only—and, in November 747, when he was a second time consul, have been 35, and, in the year following, 748, (when, as Dion says, l. 55, p. 554, D., and, as Paterculus, ii. 99, and Suetonius, iii. 9, appear to say, he was first invested with the tribunitial power,) have been in his 36 year.—And, therefore, Drusus, his son, must, when he was first made colleague with his father in the tribunitial power—that is—in the year of Rome 775, have, according to Tacitus, been in his 36 year—for, says Tacitus, iii. 56, Tiberius himself then remarked to the Senate, when he applied for the tribunitial power for his son, that he was of the same age as himself when he was first made a tribune. And consequently Drusus must have been born 739 —But does he really appear to have been born in that year?—Let us endeavour to satisfy ourselves.

Drusus, says Suetonius, iii. 7, was his only son by Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of the famous Cæcilius Atticus. When Tiberius married her, it does not appear. But says Suetonius, in the same chapter, he, when he put her away, had Drusus by her, and she was with child again —*sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quamquam bene convenientem, rursusque gravidam dimittere, ac, &c.*—Dion says, l. 54, p. 543, C., when she had brought him one child and was *suckling it*, and was going with another —*καὶ τέκνον το μὲν ἡδὴ τρεφεσσαν, το δε ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχουσσαν*—he was compelled to put her away, and marry Julia. This, according to Dion, happened in the consulship of M. V. Barbatus, and P. S. Quirinus, v. c. 742.

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

And, according to the joint reports of Paterculus and Dion, early in that year, because, say they, he was immediately obliged to take the command in Pannonia, which Agrippa had, in the preceding winter, been, through ill health, obliged to resign. Drusus then appears to have been, in the spring of the year 742, about one or two years old. And consequently to have been born in 741, if not in 740. Dion says, l. 56, p. 586, A., that Drusus was quæstor in the year 764.

That Drusus is likely to have been born in 740, Suetonius has rendered credible by what he says, iii. 15,—viz—that Tiberius, on his return from Rhodes (which according to Paterculus, ii. 103, and Dion, l. 55, p. 556, A., happened in the year 755—and to Cardinal Noris about July in that year) introduced his son into the forum, and that he, having done this, immediately quitted Pompey's house, in the Carinæ, (which surely seems to imply that he had been residing there some time at least) and removed to that of Mæcenas, in the Esquilæ. His own words are—*Romam reversus, deducto in forum filio Druso, statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo, Esquilias in hortos Mæcenatianos transinigravit*:—of course, if Tiberius soon after his return from Rhodes in the year 755, introduced Drusus to the company of men, and—at the usual age—viz—soon after he was 15, (for at that age Suetonius says, ii. 8, Augustus took the Toga,) he must have been, at latest, born before July 740, or, in the course of the year before Tiberius was consul the first time.—And consequently, must, in the year 775, when he was made his father's colleague in the tribuneship, have been 35 years old. Tiberius therefore must have been born the year before Tacitus supposes, and, by his own report, have been first made colleague with Augustus in the tribunitial power, not as Dion says in the year 748 but in the year 746—the year before he was the second time consul.

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

If then Tiberius and Drusus, were, when they were invested with the tribunitial power, of the same age, (as Tacitus informs us, 'Tiberius himself observed,) and Drusus was then 35, Tiberius must also have been 35,—and, if Tiberius was, as Dion says, invested with that power 748, he must have been born, not as Tacitus and Suetonius say in 712, but 713. Tacitus then seems, by this report, to have rendered his other report questionable, and, of course that of Suetonius too.

Let us now then hear what Dion says of this matter.—He seems to have been of a different opinion from those two writers, and, of course, from all the better informed, for he seems to think that he was born not in 712 but either in 711 or 713.—L. 57, p. 603, A., he says that Tiberius was v. c. 767, when Augustus died, 56 years old—*εξ γὰρ καὶ πεντηκοντα ἔτη ἐγγεγονέναι*—meaning, perhaps, not that he was then 56, but in the 56th. Consequently, he seems by this to have thought that he was born 16th November 711—or about two months after Augustus was first consul. And that he was, at his death, v. c. 790, in his 79th. But was Dion always of this persuasion?—Let us see.—He says, l. 58, p. 639, B., that Tiberius was, when he died, not in his 79th year, but in his 77th, which implies that he must have thought that he was born 713, and this he inconsiderately affirms, notwithstanding he there says that he reigned 22 years 7 months and 7 days.

As then no satisfaction on this point can be obtained from those three writers, let us consult one or two of his contemporaries.

Paterculus says, ii. 75, that Tiberius was, when his parents fled from Italy to Sicily, on the defeat of their party by Octavius, and the consequent distribution of their lands among his veterans, *minus binum*.—When then did this insurrection happen, and, how long did it last?

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

Livy Epit. of B. 125, says that L. the brother of M. Antonius, while consul, made, at the instigation of Fulvia, war on Cæsar—and that he was joined by those who had been dispossessed of their lands by Octavius.—L. Antonius consul, M. Antonii frater, eâdem Fulviâ conciliante, bellum Cæfari intulit: receptis in partes suas populis, quorum agri veteranis assignati essent.—Florus, B. iv. 5, says nearly the same thing.—Consequently this insurrection of the land-holders must have happened v. c. 713. And as to the continuance of it, we may safely conclude from what Paterculus says, ii. 75, that it could not have been long, for he there says of it—*id quoque adventu Cæfaris sepultum atque discussum est.*—Tiberius Claudius Nero, who, Paterculus says had been the instigator of this insurrection, finding his party dispersed, fled with Livia, and her infant son, then not two years old, to Sicily. Consequently Tiberius seems, by the report of Paterculus, to have been, in the year 713, less than two years old.—And therefore he must, as Dion affirms, l. 57, and Suetonius admits to have been possible, have been born v. c. 711.

Again—When Tiberius was three years old—*quo trimo* says Paterculus, ii. 94, a reconciliation of all parties took place. On which occasion Tiberius Claudius Nero who had then returned from Achaia, whither he had removed from Sicily, resigned his wife, who was then six months advanced in pregnancy for her second son Drusus, to Octavius.—Now when did this general reconciliation of the hostile leaders take place?—Or rather in what year did Tiberius transfer his wife Livia to Octavius?

Livy we have seen, tells us that Octavius besieged L. Antonius, while consul, in Perugia.—And Suetonius tells us, iii. 4, that the siege was begun toward *the end* of the year—*exitu anni*—and, again ii. 15. that it was ended before the ides of March.—When as Livy

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

further says, in the next chap. 126, Octavius forgave both Anthony and all his troops, and by securing all the forces of the adverse party, put an end to the war, without any further bloodshed—*bellum citra ullum sanguinem confecit*.—With Livy, Paternus, ii. 74, 76, also agrees. Suetonius says further, iii. 4, that Nero *soon after* the siege was ended—*brevi*—returned from Achaia, with Mark Anthony, to Italy, when, as Josephus says, A. xiv. 14, ε, before the end of the 184 Olympiad—that is—before Midsummer 714, a reconciliation of all parties took place. And before the end of the year Octavius married Livia.—Consequently, if as Paternus says, Tiberius was then three years old, he must, as Dion says, l. 57, have been born 711.

Let us next consult Suetonius again and endeavour to discover if he appears to have been always persuaded that Tiberius was born 712.

He says, iii. 6, that Tiberius was, at the Actian triumph (which it appears by Dion, l. 51, p. 459, B., took place in the month of August v. c. 725, Oct. Cæs. V. et S. A. Cofs.) old enough to ride one of the horses which drew the car of Octavius;—and, that he was, at that time, *pubescens*—that is, surely, not 12 years and nearly 9 months old, but 13 years and 9 months. Consequently it seems by this that he must have been born in the year 711.

Again—Suetonius, iii. 9, mentions another office, to which Tiberius was promoted, and, the juncture when it took place—a due attention to each of which circumstances may enable us to settle the year of his birth.—He there says that Tiberius first served in the Cantabrian war—and, as a tribune.—*Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica Tribunus militum fecit*.—At which time he must have been, at least, 17 years of age.—Now when did that war begin—and, when did it end?

Tiberius born Nov. u. c. 711.

Dion says, l. 53, p. 513, D. E., that it began 728, and seemingly late in that year, and, p. 515, that it ended in 729, and seemingly early in that year. He also says that the temple of Janus, was, in the last mentioned year, shut. Dion moreover says, p. 514, D., that Tiberius was not only in Spain in the year 729, but that he together with Marcellus, in that year, performed the office of ædiles at the sports which Augustus gave, in the field, for the amusement of those that were then of a military age—τοῖς δὲ δια τὴν στρατευσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐτ' ἔχουσι, θεὰς τινὰς, δια τε τοῦ Μαρκελλοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγοράνομεντων, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐποίησε.—As then Tiberius was a tribune in 728, and an ædile in 729, he must, of course, have been born in 711.

To this evidence of Dion, it may not be amiss to subjoin that of Livy, Epit. of chap. 134, 135.—In the former title he mentions the Gallic census—and in the latter, the Thracian war, which was conducted by Crassus—and the Spanish, which was conducted by Cæsar.—Bellum a Marco Crasso adversus Thrakas. et a Cæsare adversus Hispanos gestum refertur.—Now the Thracians were subdued by Crassus, says the Chron. Syn. in the third year of the 188 Olympiad, or 728, 729.—ΟΛ—ΡΠΗ—Γ. Κρασσος τὴν Θρακίαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάξετο.

Again Paternulus says, ii. 94, that Tiberius was, when in his 19th year, made a quæstor—quæstor undevicesimum annum agens capessere cœpit Rempublicam.—That he was then, with Augustus, at Rome, and very active in supplying the city with corn in the time of the greatest scarcity.—Now in what year did this happen?

Dion, l. 53, p. 516, B., says that Augustus in his tenth consulate, u. c. 730, was at Rome—that Marcellus was then made ædile, and Tiberius quæstor.—Josephus also says, A. xv. 9, α. that in the 13th

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

of Herod—v. c. 730.—x. con. of Augustus a very great scarcity prevailed all over Judea and Syria.—As therefore Tiberius was in the year 730 in his 19th year, he must have been born v. c. 711.

Not long after this—that is—not long after he was quæstor, he, says Paterculus, ii. 94, was sent to the east, by Augustus, with an army, to see the Provinces and to settle the affairs of those that wanted it.—*Nec multo post missus ab eodem vitrico cum exercitu ad visendas, ordinandasque, quæ sub Oriente sunt, provincias.*—In all those regions, he, continues Paterculus, gave *the most striking proofs of all virtues.*—Having, with his legions, entered Armenia, and reduced it under the control of the R. P. he gave the command of it to Artavasdes, for which, he afterwards remarks, c. 122, that he deserved a triumph.—And concludes Paterculus, he so terrified the king of Parthia by *the greatness of his name* that he sent his sons as hostages to Cæsar.—Of those exploits Horace takes notice in his ep. to Iccius, l. 1. 12,

Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudî virtute Neronis

Armenius cecidit: jus imperiumque Phraates

Cæsarîs accepit genibus minor.

Suetonius in two places of his 9th chap. says nearly the same as Paterculus.—In the beginning of that chapter, after informing us that he made his first campaign in Cantabria, as a tribune, he immediately proceeds to tell us that his next military step was to lead an army to the east, &c.—*Deinde ducto ad orientem exercitu, regnum Armeniæ Tigrani restituit, ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit. Recepit et signa quæ M. Crassus ademerant Parthi*—This he says in the beginning of this chap.—In the conclusion of the same, after having said, in general, that he discharged all offices sooner than others, and passed from one to another almost without intermission—*Magistratus et*

Tiberius born Nov. u. c. 711.

in maturius inchoavit, et pene junctim percurrit—he adds—Quæsturam, Præturam, Consulatum: interpositoque tempore, Cos. iterum, etiam Tribunitiam potestatem in quinquennium accepit.—May we then conclude from this that he was made prætor when he, as Suetonius says, iii. 14, led the army, through Macedonia, to the east? If so, he seems to have been made prætor u. c. 732, for in that year, Strabo says, Augustus sent him from Sanios into Armenia—and in the next year Eusebius Chron. Can.* and the author† of Chr. Syng. say that he was in Armenia and recovered the standards which were taken by the Parthians from M. Crassus.

Dion, we know, says, l. 52, p. 447, C., that the age recommended to Augustus by Mæcenas for prætors was 30. And, l. 53, p. 515, B., that Tiberius was permitted to enter on all offices 5 years before the usual standing, but he also says, l. 54, p. 527, D., that Augustus, the very next day, after his return from Syria, u. c. 735, when Tiberius was in his 24th, gave him prætorian honors, and at the same time permitted Drusus also to stand for all honors 5 years before the usual time.—And, l. 54, p. 534, B., that the Senate, u. c. 738, passed a decree that Drusus, who was then in his 25th year, should be prætor, for the remainder of the time, instead of Tiberius, who was then going to attend Augustus into Gaul. Where he commanded, says Suetonius, iii. 9, a year.

Another office which we shall notice in order to discover the age of Tiberius, is that of consul.—Now Tiberius discharged this office in the year of Rome 741, that is, as Dion says, 5 years after he had re-

* ΛΟΛΛΙΟΣ και ΛΕΠΙΔΟΣ—ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ Αρμενίαν παρέστησατο.

† ΡΠΘ—Γ.—Καίσαρ τας σημείας ας Κρασσος υπο των Παρθων ην αφηρημενος ανελαβε.

Tiberius born Nov. v. c. 711.

ceived prætorian honors—or 5 years after 735—as did also Drusus in the year 745, and as Paterculus says, ii. 97, at the age of 30, which was somewhat more than 5 years after Drusus was prætor.—Now as Drusus was made consul at 30, why should we not conclude that Tiberius also was made consul at that age?

CHAPTER II.

Tiberius went to Rhodes early in 749, and returned in July 755.

A little before Tiberius was made consul ii. he had, says Paterculus, ii. 94, conquered all Germany.—It was on this account that he, as Dion says, l. 55, p. 553, C., obtained, early in that year, a second triumph.—In the mean time, continues Paterculus in the next chap. 98, Piso subdued Thrace, and procured security for Asia and Macedonia.—By those two chapters, it appears that all nations were, in the beginning of the year 747, when Tiberius was ii. consul, at peace.

Soon after the aforesaid events had taken place, Tiberius was, says Paterculus, ii. 99, invested with the tribunitial power, and, in that respect, made equal to Augustus. This mark of distinction, Dion seems to say, l. 55, p. 554, D., was conferred on him, u. c. 748, not as a reward for his services, but to check the aspiring pretensions of the youths Caius and Lucius. But observes he, instead of answering the end intended, it only served to render both parties more dissatisfied. Wherefore to avoid giving them offence, or, for some, as Paterculus hints, more substantial reason, this, as he says of him, ii. 99, most eminent of all citizens, but Augustus, and subordinate to

Tiberius at Rhodes from 749 to July 755.

him only by choice—this greatest of generals—this most renowned as to character and success—and, to speak out the truth, this other luminary and head of the republic, when C. Cæsar had just put on the toga virilis—cum C. Cæsar sumpsisset jam togam virilem—*u. c.* 749, petitioned for leave to retire—and assigned as a reason—“left the splendor of his exploits should discourage the enterprising spirits of the youths,”—to this his father-in-law and mother, says Suetonius, *iii.* 10, strenuously objected—this made him, says he, abstain from food four days, in the course of which time Augustus seems to have complained in the senate that he was deserted, (which surely implies that Tiberius was not banished, if not that Augustus did not procure for him the tribunitial power, merely because of the petulance of his grandsons.)—And not only Augustus and his mother were most deeply affected at the thought of losing him, but also all his fellow citizens. To recite, says Paterculus, *ii.* 99, what was the condition of the state at the time—what the feelings of every individual—what tears were shed at the thought of parting from so great a person—how his country could scarcely refrain from using force to detain him, would too much interrupt the present history, and therefore would be better reserved for a separate narrative.—At last he obtained his request.—But before he left Rome, he, says Dion, *i.* 55, p. 554, E., opened his will before Augustus and Livia, and read it.—Another proof that he was not banished.—All things being settled, he, leaving his wife and son behind him, went, with very few attendants, to Ostia. And then instead of going immediately to Rhodes, he, says Suetonius, *iii.* 11, travelled from place to place in Campania, for, as we shall come to see presently, nearly a year, and early in the spring 749 proceeded to Rhodes, not without office, but as præfect of Armenia, which had, in the mean time, revolted, for no sooner had the rival states intelligence of his intention, than they entered into a confederacy—Sensit

Tiberius at Rhodes from 749 to July 755.

terrarum orbis digressum a custodiâ Neronem urbis, nam et Parthus, desciscens a societate romanâ, adjecit Armeniæ manum; et Germania, averfis domitoris sui oculis, rebellavit. ii. 100.—At Rhodes he resided almost as a private man, and on the most cordial terms with the inhabitants more than six years.*

Heic modicis contentus ædibus, nec multo laxiore suburbano genus vitæ civile admodum instituit: sine lictore aut viatore gymnasia interdum obambulans: mutuaque cum Græculis officia usurpans, prope ex æquo.—Here too, says Suetonius, iii. 11, he gave the first proof of his most extraordinary philanthropy—for having one day early, intimated his intention of visiting the sick, his attendants, mistaking his meaning, ordered all of them to be carried to a public portico, and to be placed according to their disorders. Struck at the inconvenience which the mistake had caused, and, at a loss for some time how to act, he, at last, went to every one of them, and made an apology to each for what was done, even to the poorest and most obscure.—His constant employment, while he resided here, used to be to attend the public schools, and to listen to the lectures of the professors, studying, as Tacitus says, vi. 20, the chaldæan art—viz—astrology or astronomy, or, perhaps, mathematical truths, as, we find, by Suetonius, iii. 69, he was addicted to mathematics, with the

* Whoever attends to what Paternus says, ii. 99, of the time when Tiberius applied for leave to retire—viz—cum C. Cæsar sumpsisset jam virilem togam, Lucius item maturus esset viris—v. c. 749—may stand a chance of understanding what Suetonius meant by—tantum non adversis tempestatibus, iii. 11;—and whoever attends to what Paternus says of the time when Tiberius returned to Rome—viz—ante utriusque horum obitum—that is—before the 20th August v. c. 755;—or, as Cardinal Noris says—July 755, will be inclined to think that he could not have been resident at Rhodes more than 6 years and 4 or 5 months.—And as he resided at Rhodes no longer, and as Suetonius says, iii. —, that he returned the 8th year after his secession, may we not suppose, that he spent, at least, one year in Campania?

Tiberius at Rhodes from 749 to July 755.

famous mathematician Thrasyllus, who, it seems, abode with him—quem et sapientiæ professorem contubernio admoverat, S. iii. 14—or, religious doctrines, under Jewish Rabbi's—viz—Theodorus of Gaddara, (S. iii. 57,) and Diogenes* the grammarian, who used to dispute at Rhodes, on the sabbaths, iii. 32, by whom he probably was brought acquainted with the state of affairs in Judea, among the rest, with the dissensions in Herod's family, and with his uneasiness in consequence of the arrival of the eastern magi by the guidance of a new star, and the convocation of a synod on that account, and the consequent massacre of the infants at Bethlehem.—All the while he was in this island, the greatest honors were, says Paternulus, ii. 99, and Suetonius, iii. 12, paid to him by the eastern præfects, (a third proof that he was not sent to Rhodes in disgrace) and, in particular by Caius, both on his visit to the provinces, and on his expedition to Syria.—On his visit to the provinces he, says Suetonius, iii. 12, and Dion, l. 55, p. 555, D., saw him either at Samos or Chios, and on his return he again saw him at one of the same islands. Paternulus, who ii. 101, says that he was present at the interview between Caius and the Parthian potentate, says also, in the same chapter, that Caius, in his way to Parthia, waited on Tiberius and shewed him, as his superior, every mark of respect.

In the year 755, says he, ii. 103, P. V. Cos., while Caius and Lucius were still alive, a ship was, without the knowledge of Tiberius, about Midsummer, sent for him.—A fourth proof that he was still in favor. Thus, says Paternulus, did fortune restore to the republic her wonted support, to the incredible joy of all ranks. When he arrived at Rome, Augustus, not at all doubting whom he should choose, but knowing that the eminent was the only person, wished to adopt him

Query—May not Diogenes have been the same as Theogenes mentioned ii. 94.

Tiberius was at Rhodes from 749 to July 755.

immediately before the death of Caius, but Tiberius resolutely declined the honor. After the death of Caius, about July u. c. 757, Augustus, at last, prevailed.—The joy of that day, the meetings of the people, the devotions of those who almost thrust their thankful hands into heaven, and the hope that they entertained that the security of the Roman empire was eternally established, I, says Paternus, cannot here recount.—Let me only say how very dear he was to all. Then shone forth again a certain hope of children to parents—of marriage to men—of patrimony to masters—of safety, quiet, peace, tranquility to every one—so that nothing could be wished for more, nor more happily answer their expectations. The same joy was manifested all through Italy, and the provinces of Gaul. Every one seemed to rejoice more on his own account, than on his. The soldiers shed tears of joy, and pressed to touch his hand—exclaiming—Do we then see you general again, and in safety?—I have fought under you in Armenia—I in Rhætia—I was rewarded by you in Vindelicia—I in Pannonia—I in Germany.

 CHAPTER III.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

BY the preceding chronological synopsis of the years of Tiberius, it appears, that the 36 year of Herod ended in the 750 of Rome, and, as Josephus says, A. xiv. 14, ε., before Midsummer in that year—consequently if Herod died in that year and before the 25th of December, our Lord must, if he was, as both Matthew and Luke say, born before the death of Herod, have been, at latest, born in 749, and, as is thought on the 25th of December—and consequently, must have attained his 30th year, not in the year of Rome 782, as we suppose, but in the year 779, or, the 12th of the monarchy of Tiberius. But was a census begun in the year 749?—And was there *then* an universal peace? Augustus himself* tells us that he finished the second census, not in the year 746 when Censorinus and Asinius Gallus were consuls, but in the year 752 when he himself, *the censor*, and Gallus Caninius were consuls—Censore me et Caninio Cofs.—and if he ended it in the year 752 he must have begun it, in the year

* Ancyrr. mar.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

747, when Tiberius was consul, in which year there was, as Paterculus says, ii. 98, an universal peace, which, subjoins he, did not last long after Tiberius had determined to retire—that is—after 748. And if he had not told us so, we might, as we know that Tiberius, who was, by all accounts, the constant defence of the republic, was then consul, and at Rome, and presently after retired, have readily believed it.—That a census was about that year made, Josephus himself seems to have attested, A. xvii. 2, s., where he refers to a certain fine which had been laid on 7,000 Pharisees, who, when an oath to Cæsar was required of all the Jews, refused to take it. When this oath was required he does not directly intimate, but it is not very difficult to guess pretty nearly at the time by almost indubitable criteria. For in the end of A. xiv, Josephus says, that Jerusalem was taken in the year of Rome 717—and before Midsummer, and the xv and xvi books contain, he says, the transactions of 30 years, and therefore end before Midsummer 747, when Herod had reigned 33 years. And consequently as this event is referred to in the second chap. of the xvii book, and as having taken place some time before, we may fairly suppose that it is probable that it happened about 747 or early in 748. Was then our Lord born in the year 747? If so, he must have attained his 30th year u. c. 777, and in the beginning of the 10th of Tiberius.—That our Lord was born before December 749 cannot be easily made to appear from what Matthew and Luke say—but from what Matthew and Josephus say, it might be made to appear that he was born December 747. For Matthew, we know, by saying that Joseph, was, while in Egypt, informed that *they* were dead, intimates that one or two others, beside Herod, sought to kill the young child.—Now who were those other conspirators?—Josephus

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informs us, A. xvii. 1. α. 2. σ., B. i. 29. α., that Herod, about 3 years before his death, resigned the management of public business to Antipater and Pheroras, who had been the cause of the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus.* Soon after, 3. β, those two had obtained the direction of affairs, they, unaccountably, both became very uneasy, and contrived to withdraw from Judea. Antipater first obtained leave to go to Rome—and Pheroras, A. xvii. 3. γ. B. i. 29. δ., went soon after to his tetrarchy, under a vow never to return more. When Antipater went to Rome, it is not said, but may be inferred from the sequel—Syllæus, A. xvii. 3. β.—B. i. 29. γ.† went to Rome *at the same time*, and Saturninus was then governor of Syria.—Now Saturninus, we know, was succeeded by Varus, u. c. 748, as appears by a small coin which the latter struck, of which Pagi. Appar. ad Baron. n. 136, on the authority of Cardinal Noris, says, that there are still extant several which were struck by him while president of Syria—the earliest of which has on the reverse a woman sitting with her foot on the figure of the Orontes, with a palm in her right hand, with the following inscription—ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ—and in the middle the letters —ΚΕ—that is—xxv.—By which it appears that Varus must have been in Syria before September 2d, u. c. 748.—For the æra which the Antiochians used, at that time, was that of the victory of Actium, which was obtained September the 2d, u. c. 743.—Consequently the xxv. of this æra must have ended September the 2d,

* Probably for having accused them of being in the interest of the Parthians.

† συνεξορμᾷ δε Αντιπατρω και Συλλαῖος ο Αραψ μηδεν-ων προσεταξε Καισαρ διαπεπραγμενος. Α.

Επλευσε δε και Συλλαῖος ο Αραψ επι Ρωμης, ημεληκως μεν των Καισαρος προσάγ-
ματων, αγωνιημενος δε προς Αντιπατρον. Β.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

U. C. 748. If then Varus succeeded Saturninus before the 2d September in that year, it is clear that Antipater must have gone to Rome, nobody knows how long before.—That Antipater must have been a long while at Rome we may infer from the various particulars which, Josephus says, happened during his absence—for, after he left Jerusalem, which it seems, he did, not long after he was made every thing—that is—not long after the 33d year of Herod was ended, Herod quarrelled so much with Pheroras, on account of the protection which his wife afforded the 7,000 Pharisees, that he forbade him his presence, and Pheroras swore that he would never see him more.—A little after this Herod was taken ill, and sent for Pheroras, who, as he had sworn, refused to see him.—Pheroras was then taken ill and Herod went to see him. Soon after Pheroras died. After his death, it was suspected that he died of poison, and on an enquiry it was found that he did, and that Syllæus, the Arabian, was privy to it.—This enquiry led to a discovery that Antipater had been plotting against the life of his father.—His guilt was proved seven months before he knew it at Rome. From Rome he went to Tarentum, where he was informed of the death of Pheroras, from thence he sailed to Cilicia, and, at Celendris, received a letter from Herod, in which his mother was blamed, which made him suspect all was not right, however he proceeded on to Sebaste, and so to Jerusalem, where he was imprisoned, and put to death five days before Herod died.

It is pretty clear then that Antipater went to Rome before Varus went to Syria—that is—before the 2d September, 748. And therefore as our Lord was more than a month old when the children were massacred at Bethlehem, that he may have, with Pheroras, been concerned in that massacre.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

Besides—If, as the Talmud of Jerusalem says, the power of punishing capitally was taken from Israel 40 years before the destruction of that city—that is—40 years before 823—or—in 783—and in the 16th of Tiberius, the persecution of Saul must have then ceased.—And, if that persecution did not begin till the year following the crucifixion, and lasted about two years, our Lord must have been, at latest, crucified u. c. 781, or—the 14th of Tiberius.

By the help of the same evidence of the above-mentioned document, we may perceive that Josephus too seems to have intimated the same thing, A. xviii. 4. ε., where he, after having mentioned the crucifixion of our Lord, says that a vagabond Jew, who had fled from his own country to avoid the punishment due to his transgressions of the laws, and had found an asylum at Rome,* was the cause of the expulsion of all his countrymen from that city—for, if that Jewish vagabond left Judea to avoid the penalty of the law, he must have left it before the power of punishing capitally had been taken from Israel—that is—before 783. And, of course, our Lord, who appears to have been crucified before this wretch left Judea, must have been crucified, nobody knows how long, before that year. But why, it may be asked, if he left Judea before the power of inflicting capital punishment had been taken from the Jews, did they not avail themselves of their boasted privilege and endeavour to seize him at Rome, as Saul did other delinquents in other strange cities? If he was not a

* Ην ανηρ Ιεδαιιος, φευγας μεν της αυτης, κατηγορια τε παραβασεως νομων και δεει τιμωριας της επ' αυτῳις, πονηρος δε εις τα παντα. και δη τοτε εν τη Ρωμη διαιτωμενος, προσεποιετο μεν εξηγεισθαι σοφιαν νομων των Μωυσεως, προσποιεσαμενος τε τρεις ανδρας εις τα παντα ομοιοτροπους, τετοις επιφοιτησασαν Φελδαν, των εν αξιωματι γυναικῶν και νομιμοις προσεληλυθιαν τοις Ιεδαικοις, πειθουσι πορφυραν και χρυσιον εις το εν Ιεροσολυμοις ιερον διαπεμψασθαι.

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worshipper of Christ they surely had still the power of seizing him any where. May we not therefore surmise that this notorious transgressor of the laws was no other than a worshipper of Christ? And that he was therefore, in the estimation of Josephus and his unbelieving brethren, so very execrable? This supposition, however novel it may appear, we find ourselves obliged to adopt, not only by noticing the neglect of the Jews to prosecute him, but by observing that he, bad as he was, could obtain access to Fulvia a proselyted lady of distinction, and that Tiberius, on his account, permitted the expulsion of all the Jews from Rome, and the banishment of the Jewish libertines to Sardinia. And though it does not tend directly to establish our original point—viz—the year in which our Lord was put to death—yet, as it implies that the gospel was, *without molestation*, permitted to be preached at Rome before the expulsion of the Jews from Rome and the transportation of the libertines to Sardinia—that is—before the 18th year of Tiberius, it will be found to imply pretty satisfactorily that our Lord was crucified, nobody knows how long before the 15th of Tiberius,* and consequently that he, as he is said by John to have celebrated three, if not four passovers, in the course of his ministry, possibly attained his 30th year in the 10th of Tiberius.

But what? Does our Lord really appear to have been born 747? And to have entered on his 30th year u. c. 777—that is the 10th of Tiberius? Why then has Luke told us that he entered on it, on the 15th of Tiberius, u. c. 782? Did he by the 15th mean only the 10th? Of this we may be assured that if he really means the 15th of his

* This accounts for Josephus' appearing, A. xviii. 3, 4, to have omitted the events of 8 or 10 years in the short period of 32;—in the end of chapter 3, he mentions the death of Germanicus, who died u. c. 772;—and in the beginning of chapter 4, he mentions the offence of Pilate by introducing the Roman standards at Jerusalem after u. c. 780.

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monarchy he positively asserts that he was born u. c. 752—that is after the death of Herod—and consequently contradicts not only the evidence of Matthew, but also his own in the two preceding chapters, if not in the Acts iv. 27—for in the beginning of the first he says—“There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judea,”—and, in that of the second—“And it came to pass in those days, &c.”—And he not only appears to contradict his own testimony, and that of Matthew too, but likewise that of John, who says that our Lord, at the first passover which he celebrated after he begun his ministry—that is—in the 15th of Tiberius u. c. 782, observed to the Jews, at Jerusalem, that the temple had been building 40 and 6 years, and consequently it must, if Luke has been understood rightly, have been begun 736.—But what says Josephus of the time when it was begun?—He says, B. i. 21. α., that Herod, in the 15th year of his reign u. c. 732, at a vast expence, began both to decorate the temple, and to enclose a space around it as large again as the former—αὐτον τε ναον ἐπισκευασε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτον ἀντετειχίστατο χώραν τῆς ὀσῆς διπλασίαν—as a proof of the immense expence it must have cost, he instances the *stately porticos* around the temple, (among which, no doubt, was that called Solomon’s,) and the fortrefs on the north, where the pontifical habits used to be kept. Now if he began to do all this in the 15th year of his reign, why may he not be said to have then begun the building of the temple? And if so it must have been 46 years a building, not in the year 782, but in 778—the 10th year of the monarchy of Tiberius, and the 30th of our Lord’s age.—He also says indeed, A. xv. ιι. α., that it was begun in the 18th year of Herod, u. c. 735—after the arrival of Cæsar in Syria.—But then he seems to refer to the same event—viz—to the beautifying of the temple—and the enlarging of the septum—Τότε γὰρ οὐκὼκαὶδεκάτῃ τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτῷ, μετὰ τὰς προειρημένους πράξεις, ἔργον ἔ το

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τευχον ἐπεβαλετο, τον νεων τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτῷ κατασκευασθαι, μείζω τε τῶν περιβολον, και προς υψος αξιοπρεπεστατον εγειρειν. κ. τ. λ.—Consequently, why should we not suppose that, by those two dates, Josephus meant to refer to the two commencements of Herod's reign—viz—by the former, to the capture of Jerusalem—and by the latter, to his first being made king? And, that he therefore in both works means the same thing? If he does not, but by the 18th of Herod he also means from the conquest of Jerusalem—and therefore u. c. 735, then our Lord must have said this 781, for $735 \times 46 = 781$ —which was not the 15th but the 13th year of Tiberius, and the 30th year of our Lord—in which case our Lord must have been born after the death of Herod, and, could not, as a sabbatical year did not, in that case, happen in the course of his ministry, have celebrated a jubilee.—That it is, at least, not certain that he meant to say that Herod began the temple 18 years after the capture of Jerusalem—or—u. c. 735, is clear, because this book contains only the events of 18 years* from that time, and yet in the conclusion of it, we find, he speaks of the finishing of the temple, that is, at least, of the serviceable part of it, which he says, was completed in a year and six months, and, that it was opened on the anniversary of Herod's reign—that is—exactly at the expiration of 18 years from the taking of Antigonos and Jerusalem—or—u. c. 735. Now if the priests finished the more sacred part in a year and six months, can we suppose, that the materials, for that part, were collected in less time? If not, we find, that Herod must have begun to build it 3 years before the end of the 18th year of his reign—that is—at the end of the 15th.

* He says it in the title—and, we find it contains the transactions from the capture of Jerusalem, u. c. 717, till the anniversary of Herod's reign, after the arrival of Cæsar in Syria, u. c. 735.

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Luke then, notwithstanding his profession, at the outset of giving us a more correct account of the life of Christ than others, notwithstanding his precision in this very case, appears to have made a most glaring anachronism;—and, in contradiction, not only of his own previous testimony, but also of that of two companions of that most extraordinary person.—But this surely we cannot suppose that any biographer would have done in the short life of any one, especially of one so eminent and a cotemporary, much less a biographer, who wrote to correct the inaccuracies of others, and on whose production the eyes of the unbelieving world were fixed.

Now if, even by the account of Luke, as well as by that of Matthew, John, and Josephus, our Lord appears to have been born before the death of Herod, and to have entered on his 30th year, not as Luke says, in the 15th of Tiberius, but in the 10th, may not Luke have called the 10th of his monarchy the 15th of his reign.—Let us not spare any pains to satisfy ourselves.

It is generally admitted by historians that Augustus, a few years before he died, made Tiberius his colleague in the government of the Roman affairs.—But in what year this event happened none of those historians have attempted to shew. Some think it took place in the year of Rome 764, when M. Æm. Lepidus and T. S. Taurus were consuls—and, about three years before the death of Augustus.—Clemens of Alexandria, says, Strom. p. 339, that some maintained that the reign of Tiberius lasted 26 years 6 months and 19 days.—If this account be true, Tiberius must have begun to reign in the year of Rome 763—but, according to Luke, he must have begun a year earlier.—Let us enquire which of those three opinions appears to be nearest the truth.—And first let us consult the evidence of Paterculus on this point.

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Paterculus, speaking of what happened after the conquest of Bato and Pinetes, u. c. 761, F. C. and S. N. Cofs. ii. 114, says, in the end of that chapter—*Autumno victor in hyberna reducitur exercitus, cujus omnibus copiis a Cæsare (a Cæsaribus?*) M. Lepidus præfectus est, vir nominis ac fortunæ eorum proximus.*—In the course of that winter, or, rather perhaps, in the end of it, u. c. 762, after Tiberius had, as Dion says, l. 56, init., triumphed, either Tiberius alone, or, Tiberius in conjunction with Augustus, placed M. Lepidus over all the forces.

In the next chapter—viz—115th, he says of the same Lepidus—*Initio æstatis—scil. 762, Lepidus, educito hibernis exercitu, per gentes integras immunisque adhuc clade belli, et eo ferociores ac truces, tendens ad Tiberium imperatorem, &c. pervenit ad Cæsarem; et ob ea, quæ si propriis gessisset auspiciis, triumphare debuerat, ornamentis triumphalibus, consentiente cum judicio principum voluntate senatus, donatus est.*—By this extract it appears that Lepidus was, in the year 762, by the joint approbation of the *princes*, rewarded with triumphal honors.

In the 120th chapter, he says—*His auditis revolat ad patrem Cæsar: perpetuus patronus romani imperii adsuetam sibi causam suscipit.*—Paterculus is here speaking of the defeat of Varus, who, as Dion says, l. 56, p. 582, C., was defeated in the winter of 763. By this it appears that Tiberius, on hearing of that defeat, hastened immediately to Rome, to give directions, as usual, for the security of the Roman empire.

* Omnino “a Cæsaribus” Lips.

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In the next chapter, the 121st, he says—*Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore ingressa animam imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quæ initio fuerat; qui cum mollisset, et senatus populusque romanus (postulante patre ejus ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi) decreto complexus esset, (etenim absurdum erat)* *in urbem reversus*, jampridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannonicis Dalmatisque egit triumphum.—By this we learn that Tiberius, after he had been invested with authority equal to that of Augustus, returned v. c. 765, to Rome, and triumphed not only over the Pannonians but also over the Dalmatians.

In the 123d chapter, he says—*Commendans illi sua atque ipsius opera.*—By this we are informed that Augustus, on his death bed, recommended to Tiberius their joint works.

Lastly, in the 129th, he says—*Sed proposita quasi universâ principatus Tiberii formâ, singula recenseamus Quibus præceptis instructum Germanicum suum, imbutumque rudimentis militiæ secum actæ, domitorem recepit Germaniæ?*—*Quibus juventam ejus exaggeravit honoribus, respondente cultu triumphali rerum quas gesserat magnitudini, &c.?*—By this we are informed, that one of the most memorable deeds of Tiberius, while *prince*, was, the heaping of honors on Germanicus while a *youth*, that is surely, as Dion says, l. 56, p. 582, B., at latest, in the year 763, for he was then decorated with triumphal insignia, and admitted to prætorian honors, and allowed to stand for the consulship before the time appointed. But whether he could then be properly called a *youth* will perhaps be questioned, for he was then 24.—Besides—it seems that this was not the first time that he had been sent to announce a victory, for Dion says—*καὶ τότε.*

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

He may have been sent to announce the victory for which Tiberius triumphed u. c. 762, for we find by Dion, l. 55, p. 569, C., that he was in 760, soon after the breaking out of the Pannonian war, sent, when quæstor and only 19, with the new levies to Tiberius.*

The sum of the testimonies of Paterculus on this point, amounts to this—In the year 762 either Tiberius alone, or Tiberius in conjunction with Augustus, placed M. Lepidus over all the forces.—Tiberius and Augustus rewarded Lepidus with triumphal honors.—Tiberius, in the year 763, on hearing of the defeat of Varus hastened to Rome immediately, to give directions, *as usual*, for the security of the Roman empire.—Tiberius, after he had been invested with authority equal to that of Augustus, triumphed over the Pannonians and Dalmatians.—Augustus, on his death bed, recommended to Tiberius their joint works.—Tiberius, while prince, heaped honors on Germanicus when a youth.

This being the sum of what Paterculus says—why should we not conclude from it that Tiberius was, u. c. 762, made equal to Augustus in every thing?

Let us now attend to what Suetonius says of the length of this important period.

He says, iii. 15, that from the banishment of Agrippa in the year 760, nothing was omitted that might serve to increase the *majesty* of Tiberius.—*Nihil ex eo tempore prætermissum est ad majestatem ejus augendam, ac multo magis postquam, Agrippâ abdicato ac seposito, certum erat, uni spem successionis incumbere.*

* Dion seems to intimate also that Augustus sent him because he suspected that Tiberius was dilatory.—Had Dion seen the letter from Augustus to Tiberius, at that very time, commending his caution and prudence, (which letter may be still seen Suetonius iii. 21,) he would hardly have said so.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

In the next chapter—viz—16th, he says—that Tiberius, being again invested with the tribunitial power for *five years*, was sent into Germany to settle the affairs of that country—and—that while he was there, ambassadors from Parthia arrived at Rome, who, having delivered their credentials to Augustus, were ordered to attend Tiberius in Germany.—*Datâ rursus potestas tribunitia in quinquennium: delegatus pacandæ Germaniæ status: Parthorum legati, mandatis Augusto Romæ redditis, eum quoque adire in Provinciam iussi.*—Now that those Parthian ambassadors should, after having delivered their credentials to Augustus, at Rome, have been ordered to attend Tiberius in Germany, must be allowed to be not a little remarkable.—But when did those Parthian ambassadors arrive at Rome?—*Scil.*—When Tiberius was in Germany settling the affairs of that country. But when did he settle the affairs of Germany?—Was it before or after the Pannonian war? Clearly before—as appears by the sequel. For he proceeds thus—*Sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione, transiit ad curam novi belli:*—which, continues he, next to the Punic, was the most grievous, and lasted *three years*. But, at the expiration of that time, he was victorious, having subdued all the country between the Adriatic and the Danube.

Those Parthians then, it seems, arrived at Rome about the year 759, and just after Augustus, as Dion says, l. 55, p. 567, B., ordered three consulars to hear most foreign embassies.

In the next chapter—viz—17th, he says that, for the exploits which he performed in the course of those three years—that is—759, 760, and 761, a triumph and many and great honors were decreed him, and among the rest, that he should be entitled Pannonicus.—This triumph, says he, was deferred, on account of the defeat of

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

Varus, which, says he, happened at the same time.* Nevertheless, says he, he entered Rome wearing a prætexta, and crowned with laurel, and, the Senate standing, he ascended a tribunal placed in the septa, and there, with Augustus, sat between the two consuls.

In the 20th chapter, he says that Tiberius ordered Bato, the chief of the Pannonians, whom he had rewarded with costly presents, to reside at Ravenna.—A *Germaniâ in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit: . . . : Batonem Pannonicum ducem, ingentibus donatum præmiis Ravennam transtulit. Prandium dein populo et congiarium dedit. Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem: item, &c.*†

In the 21st chapter he says—Ac non multo post (Lege per Cons. latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, *simulque censum ageret, condito lustrò*) in Illyricum profectus est.—By this it appears that this law was passed, before the last census or lustrum was begun, because, at the same time that it gave to Tiberius the same power as Augustus had over the provinces, (and, indeed, if we may believe Paterculus, chapter 121, over the armies,) it also gave him a power over the civil organization of the Romans equal to that of Augustus. And as that census or lustrum was ended before the death of Augustus, and lasted, as every census or lustrum did, five years, why should we not suppose that it began five years before his death—that is—in the year of Rome 762, when Q. S. Camerinus and C. P. Sabinus were consuls?—And again, in the course of the same chapter,

* Dion, who will not allow that Varus was, at this time defeated, says, l. 56, init., that this was a perfect triumph, attended, as usual, with sports—and—beside those several circumstances mentioned by Suetonius, adds some others, one of which we shall presently have occasion to notice.

† Dion says, l. 56, p. 586, B., that the dedication of this temple to Concord happened u. c. 764.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

Suetonius says, that Augustus, in several of his letters, addressed Tiberius, as a most experienced general, and as being the only safeguard of the Roman people—*unicum præsidium populi romani*—a copy of one of those which he wrote to him in Pannonia, before the conquest of Bato, he subjoins—in which, he says, every one spoke with admiration of his prudence and circumspection, and laments that he can no longer consult him as usual.—*Vale jucundissime Tiberi, et rem gere feliciter*, εμοι και ταις Μεσαις στρατηγων.—*Jucundissime, et ita sim felix, vir fortissime, et dux*, νομιμωτατε.—*Vale, et ordinem æstivorum tuorum*——. *Ego vero, mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates, και τοσαυτην ραθυμιαν στρατευομενων non potuisse quenquam prudentius gerere se, quam tu gesseris, existimo. Hi quoque, qui tecum fuerunt omnes, confitentur versum illum in te posse dici,*

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

Sive (inquit) quid incidit, de quo sit cogitandum diligentius, sive quid stomachor valde, medius fidius Tiberium mecum desidero: succurritque versus ille Homericus.—

Τῆτε δ' ἐσπομενοιο, και ἐκ πυροσ αἰθομενοιο

Ἀμφω νόησαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἷδε νόησαι.

*Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum cum audio et lego, Dii me per-
dant, nisi cohorrescit corpus meum: teque rogo ut parcas tibi: ne si te
languere audierimus, et ego et mater tua expiremus; et de summâ imperii
sui Populus Romanus periclitetur. Nihil interest valem ipse nec ne, si tu
non valebis. Deos obsecro ut te nobis conservent, et valere nunc et
semper patiantur, si non Populum Romanum perosi sunt.*

Now if this letter of Augustus to Tiberius was written during the Pannonian war—that is—before the year 762, Tiberius must, even then, and by the testimony of Augustus himself, have been generally considered, as the *only* support of the Roman greatness, and, con-

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

frequently, must have been thought worthy of being made equal to Augustus—and—as Augustus declared himself even then so very desirous of his advice on great occasions, and sent the Parthian ambassadors to him when in Germany, and afterwards permitted him to appoint Lepidus commander in chief, and Sabinus consul, and made him his colleague in the censorship, can we wonder, if he also made him his colleague in other things, especially if Augustus was then so very infirm as not to be able to transact business without the assistance of others?

Again—chapter 42, he says—*Postea Princeps in ipsâ publicorum morum correptione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit: quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis confestim detulit.*—By this we learn that he, in the time of a census, which always lasted five years, made Pomp. Flaccus the governor of Syria, and L. Piso præfect of the city.—But in what year did Tiberius dispose of two such important offices? By the report of Tacitus he did it in the year 765—for he says, vi. 10, 11, that Piso had then been 20 years præfect of the city.—Consequently he must have been made præfect, by Tiberius, in the year 765.

The last passage which we shall notice in this writer occurs in the 4th chapter of the fifth book, in which he gives a transcript of another letter of Augustus, not indeed to Tiberius, but to Livia—*Collocutus sum, cum Tiberio, ut mandasti mea Livia quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus. Consentit autem uterque nostrum, semel esse nobis statuendum quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam semper æstuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabi-*

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

mus, μη προϋποκειμενβ-ημιν posse eum gerere honores arbitremur nec ne. . . .
 Cur enim non *præficitur urbi*, si potest fratrem suum sequi in montem.
 By this letter of Augustus to Livia, as well as by that before recited to Tiberius, it seems that Augustus consulted Tiberius on important occasions. It has been thought that the occasion which produced this letter was the appointed procession of Germanicus, the brother of Claudius, as consul, to the Alban Mount.—If that was the occasion on which it was written, it must have been written in the year 765—the very year in which Tiberius, we have just seen, made L. Piso the præfect of Rome, in preference to Claudius.

By those several extracts from Suetonius, it appears that Tiberius exercised several acts of sovereignty before the year 765—or rather—five years before the death of Augustus—viz—from the year 762—and—that in that year the law was passed to enable him to assist in making a census.

Let us now attend to what Tacitus says of the imperial functions of Tiberius before he succeeded Augustus.

In the first book of his annals we meet with several references to his having been, several years before the death of Augustus, invested with them—and, in other parts of that same work with as many more.

B. i. c. 3.—He says—Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat: illic cuncta vergere: filius, *collega imperii*, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur: non, &c.

— . — . c. 6.—He says—Primum facinus *novi principatus* fuit, Posthumi Agrippæ cædes.

He also says in the same chapter—Sallustius Crispus monuit ne neve Tiberius *vim principatus* resolveret, cuncta ad senatum vocando.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

—. —. c. 8.—He says—*Addebat Messala Valerius, renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii.*

—. —. c. 10.—He says—*Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribunitiam a patribus rursus postularet, quanquam honorâ oratione, quædam de habitu cultuque et institutis ejus jecerat, quæ velut excusando exprobraret.*

—. —. c. 11.—He says—*Verfæ inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille variè differebat, de magnitudine imperii, suâ modestiâ: solum Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem: se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum, experiendo didicisse, quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunæ, regendi cuncta onus.*

—. —. c. 26.—He says—*Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum.*

—. —. c. 46.—He says—that the Roman populace, dissatisfied with his having sent two striplings to quell the mutiny of the legions—viz—Germanicus and Drusus, observed—*ire ipsum, et opponere majestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longâ experientiâ, eundemque severitatis et munificentie summum, vidissent.*

Those seven testimonies on this point, we find in the first book only—in the next book—viz—ii. c. 42, we find an ambiguous expression which appears to tend to the establishment of the same conclusion—viz—*Ut verfâ Cæsarum sobole, imperium adeptus est.*—Now as he had before said that Tiberius was by Augustus made his colleague in the empire—and also in the tribunitial power a few years before the death of Augustus, what can he have meant by this, but that he obtained sovereign power soon after the exile of Agrippa?—That is—760.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

Again—iii. 30,—he says of Crispus Sallustius—Igitur incolumi Mæcenate proximus; mox præcipuus cui, secreta *imperatorum* innoterentur, et interficiendi Posthumi Agrippæ conscius, ætate provectâ speciem magis in amicitîâ principis quam vim tenuit, idque et Mæcenati acciderat, &c.

In the vi. book we meet with three references more to this joint power of Augustus and Tiberius, the first of which occurs c. 10, 11. It says, as we have already observed, that L. Piso governed Syria 20 years.—The second is of a piece with it.—It occurs chapter 39.—Fine anni—u. c. 788—T. 22—Poppæus Sabinus concessit vita *principum* amicitîâ, *consulatum* ac triumphale decus adeptus: maximisque provinciis per *quatuor et viginti annos* impositus.—Now P. Sabinus was, we know, consul u. c. 762, several years after the deaths of Caius and Lucius, and the second after the banishment of Agrippa.—Consequently, by—*principum* amicitîâ—can only be understood that of Augustus and Tiberius.—Now if, in that year, P. Sabinus was made consul by the favor of the *princes*, why should we not conclude that Tiberius was, in that year colleague with Augustus?—And if P. Sabinus, had, in the year u. c. 788, presided over the largest provinces 24 years, he must have been made præfect of Mæsia, by the same princes, 764.—This, at least, we learn from Tacitus himself, i. 80—that Tiberius in the first or second year of his reign to the præfecture of Mæsia added that of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*.

The last passage relevant to our purpose in this book, occurs in the last chapter—viz—51—egregium vitâ famâque quoad privatus, vel in *imperiiis* sub Augusto fuit.—On this we have no remark to make pertinent to our present purpose.—But though we have nothing more to say as to the power of Tiberius under Augustus, yet we think it not amiss

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to point out to the admirers of Tacitus the different manners in which he speaks of the character of Tiberius in this place and in a passage of the i. book already quoted.—He here, we find, says that Tiberius, as long as he lived under Augustus, was so very exemplary that every body noticed it.—Now if his character was, during all that time, egregiously fair—why would Tacitus have us to believe that Augustus, when, a few years before his death, he again demanded the tribunitial power for him of the Senate, think of making excuses for his defects, and in such a manner too as tended only to expose them? *Quæ velut excusando exprobraret.*—Did Augustus, who as Suetonius, we have seen, says, wrote that most affectionate and laudatory letter to Tiberius, then, by the account of Paterculus, in Pannonia, (for what Paterculus says, ii. 111—viz—*quantis prudentia ducis opportunitatibus, furentes eorum vires universas evasimus partibus?*—corresponds exactly with the purport of Augustus' letter transcribed by Suetonius,) speak thus of him, a year or two after, to the Senate—and, when he, as Tacitus says, *demanded* a renewal of the tribunitial power for him?—Impossible!—And it is not only impossible that Augustus should, within five years of his death, have mentioned Tiberius with any kind of obliquity—it is by the evidence of Dion, as we shall come to see presently, almost as incredible that Augustus, was at that time, capable of going to the Senate.

The sum of what Tacitus says on this point, seems to be this—that Tiberius was colleague with Augustus in sovereign power, and consort in the tribunitial—that Augustus demanded a renewal of the tribunitial power for him, not as Dion says, l. 56, p. 588, B., the year before he died—but a few years before he died.—And that Tiberius was, as prince, partly the cause of the promotion of Sabinus to the consulship u. c. 762.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

Let us now then attend to what Dion says on this point :

Dion says, l. 55, p. 567, B., that Augustus was, a little after the banishment of Archelaus, and a little before the Pannonian war, u. c. 759, rendered by age and by bodily infirmities, incapable of deciding on every point submitted to him, and that he, with the assistance of co-assessors, transacted at home, as much business as he could.—And as for embassies, as well those from the provinces as from kings, he deputed three consulars to hear them, and to return answers—excepting in such cases, as it was necessary for him and the Senate to join in the decision.—και επειδαν και τω γερα και τη τε σωματος ασθενεια εκαμνεν, ωσε μη δυνασθαι πασι τοις δεοιμενοις τι αυτε χρηματιζειν, τα μεν αλλα αυτος μετα των συνεδρων και διεσκεψατο και εδικαζεν, εν τω παλατιω επι βηματος προκαθημενος τας δε πρεσβειας, τας τε παρα των δημων, και τας παρα των βασιλεων αφικνυμενας, τρισιν των υπατευκωτων επιτρεψεν, ως αυτες χωρις εκασον και διακθειν τινων, και αποκρισιν αυτοις διδοναι, πλην των οσα αναγκαιον ην την τε βελην και εκεινον επιδιακρινειν.—If now this report of Dion be true, and what Suetonius says, iii. 16, be also true—that the Pannonian war lasted three years, Augustus must have been, nearly three years before the end of the Pannonian war, so infirm as not to have been able to do business in public.—Paterculus, ii. 110, seems to have pointed out one of the principal causes of his malady—he there says—quin tantus etiam hujus belli (viz—the Pannonian) metus fuit, ut stabilem illum, et firmatum tantorum bellorum experiëntiâ, Cæsaris Augusti animum quateret atque terreret.—And no wonder if it alarmed him so very much, as it was by the account of Suetonius, iii. 16, a second Punic—quod gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica, per xv. legiones, paremque auxiliorum copiam, triennio gessit.—Another cause which tended to render him still weaker, happened in the course of the next year, 760, just before the con-

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clusion of the Pannonian war, when says Dion, l. 55, p. 569, 570, he found it absolutely necessary to disinheret and confine his only remaining grandson Agrippa for his contumacity, not only to Livia, but to himself.

Again—Dion says, l. 55, init., that Tiberius, u. c. 762, when Camerinus and Sabinus were consuls, after the winter was passed, and therefore nearly a half a year after the Pannonians were subdued, went to Rome—that he was met by Augustus, in the suburbs, by him conducted to the Septa, and, as Suetonius says, iii. 17, made to sit by his side, between the two consuls—that he congratulated the people, performed the usual ceremonies, and, by the consuls, gave *public sports*, (a pretty sure proof that no public disaster had then taken place.) And that, at those *very sports*, the knights demanded a repeal of the law relating to batchelors and to those married folks who had no children. On which occasion, Augustus, as some understand Dion, notwithstanding he had, twice before, permitted the Senate to take cognizance of almost every thing, notwithstanding he had declared his incapacity to attend them, notwithstanding he was, as Dion himself says, oppressed with grief, on account of the undutiful behavior of Agrippa—and, notwithstanding he was, as Suetonius says, ii. 84, unable to speak in public—notwithstanding all this, he is supposed to have delivered those two long, animated, and very eloquent harangues, which we read in Dion, to the married and unmarried knights, assembled in the *forum*.

But is it not just as likely that Tiberius himself, who, as Suetonius observes, iii. 21, was then made censor, and, as he also observes, iii. 70, was thought to have spoken better extempore than by premeditation, thus addressed the knights on this occasion? If as Paterculus, we have seen, says M. Lepidus was, by him, just before,

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placed over all the forces—if as Suetonius, we have seen, says, the Parthian ambassadors were, before the Pannonian war, commanded to attend him in Germany, when Germany was not yet tranquillized—if, as he also says, he was now made cenfor.—If as Tacitus, we have seen, says, Sabinus was by him and Augustus made consul, it seems not a little likely, as some have surmised, that he did harangue the knights on this occasion.—And if he did, the consequence of this triumph seems to have been as honorable to him, as the triumph itself.

Again—Dion says, l. 56, p. 582, A., that a triumph was again decreed to Tiberius in 763, and seemingly for his exploits in Pannonia and Dalmatia—but, says he, C., this triumph was deferred on account of the defeat of Varus, which, adds he, happened at the same time—viz—in the winter.—On the receipt of this news, says Dion, p. 585, B., Augustus was overcome by grief—and at F., that he would not, on that account, permit, as before, any *shows*.

Again—Dion says, l. 56, p. 587, B. C., u. c. 765, that Augustus, when old, wrote a letter to the Senate recommending Germanicus to the fathers and them to Tiberius—this letter, subjoins Dion, Augustus did not read himself, for he was not able to do it, but Germanicus, *as usual*.—And then he enjoined them, on account of the *Celtic war*, which, by his own report, began 763, and ended about this time, not to attend him, at the palace, with any more salutations, and not to be offended if he did not give them any more entertainments—
 ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ γηρῶς ὢν, τὸν τε Γερμανικὸν τῇ βελῇ, καὶ ταυτὴν τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο.
 ἀνεγνώ δὲ τὸ βιβλίον ἑκ αὐτοῦ (ὃ γὰρ οἶος τ' ἦν γεγωνίσκειν) ἀλλ' ὁ Γερμανικὸς, ὡς περ
 βιωθεὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτου ἠτήσατο παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ Κελτικῷ πολέμῳ προφασεὶ μὴτ'
 οἰκοὶ αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι, μὴτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μὴκετι συσσιτοῖη σφίσι.

Augustus and Tiberius colleagues five years.

The next testimony of Dion, which seems to be relevant to this point, occurs in the next page—viz—588, C. D., where he says—
 “and on account of his great age (which would not permit him, but
 “very seldom, to attend the Senate) he demanded 20 annual counsel-
 “lors—and a decree was passed—that whatever he, and *Tiberius*, and
 “those counsellors, and the consuls for the time being, and the con-
 “suls elect, and his sons—that is—his *adopted* sons, and whoever they
 “should call in to their assistance, should enact, should be valid, as if
 “decreed by the whole Senate.”—Και συμβεβηκε, υπο τῆ γῆρας (υφ’ ὑπερ ἔδε
 ἐς τὸ βουλευτηριον ἡδῆ, πλην σπανιωτάτα συνεφοίτα) εἰκοσιν ἐτησίῃς ἡτησατο. Καὶ
 προσεψηφίσθη, πανθ’ ὅσα ἀν αὐτῷ μετὰ τε τῆ Τιβερίου, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων, τῶν τε
 αἰεὶ ὑπατεύοντων, καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδειγμένων, τῶν τε ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ, τῶν ποιητῶν
 δηλονότι, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσους ἀν ἐκάστοτε προσπαράλαβῃ βουλευομένων δοξῇ, κυρία, ὡς
 καὶ πασῇ τῇ γῆρασι ἀρεσάντα εἶναι.—The mention of Tiberius, in this
 decree of the Senate, and of him only by name, has appeared to
 some rather remarkable.

The last passage in this historian, which we consider as a proof
 that Tiberius had, before the death of Augustus, imperial authority,
 and that it had been confirmed to him by a decree of the Senate,
 occurs in the next book—viz—l. 57, p. 602, D.

Dion, in the beginning of that book, says—Tiberius, immediately
 on the death of Augustus, wrote, as Autocrat, from Nola to the
 armies and to all the allies, not saying expressly that he was Auto-
 crator, for this title he would not receive, though voted to him,
 with others, by the Senate.—Τοιαῦτος ἐν δὲ τις ὧν εἰς τε τὰ στρατοπέδα καὶ
 ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, ὡς Αυτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης ἀπεστείλε. μὴ λέγων
 Αυτοκράτωρ εἶναι. Ψηφίσθεν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων, ἐκ
 ἐδείξατο.—By this Dion seems to acknowledge that Tiberius had,

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before the death of Augustus, been, by a decree of the Senate, made emperor—and—that he, immediately after the death of Augustus—*ibid.*—issued, as if he was emperor, notices to the armies, and to all the allied powers, from Nola.—Now when did the Senate confer on him this title?—Or when did Tiberius refuse it?—That the Senate had, several times before, voted him this title, and, that Tiberius did not refuse it, but on the contrary, seemed pleased with it, we learn from several writers. Paterculus says, ii. 104, that the soldiers, full of joy to see him again after his retirement at Rhodes, exclaimed—*Videmus te, Imperator, &c?*—*Ego tecum, Imperator, in Armenia, &c.* And, ii. 125, he himself speaks of him as being, in the beginning of his monarchy, an old emperor—*Sed hæc omnia veteris imperatoris maturitas, &c.* Dion too says himself, l. 55, p. 552, B., that he was honored with this title the year before he was ii. consul—that is—*u. c. 746.*—And, l. 56, p. 582, A., that it was, with several other marks of honor,* given to Augustus and Tiberius on the conquest of the Dalmatians *u. c. 763*, and adds, that Augustus did not, infirm as he was, refuse it. Eusebius says, that he was, for his conquest of Germany, entitled *Autocratoor*.—*Τιβεριος Καίσαρ καταπολεμήσας Γερμανὺς αυτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη.*—*ΑΠ.* p. 62.—And adds, immediately after, that he twice triumphed over the Pannonians.—Why then should Tiberius be said to have refused this honor though decreed to him by the Senate?—After he had so often accepted it from them? May we not suspect then that Dion must have used this word in a different sense here from what he had before?—And in that sense which, he acknowledges, l. 52, p. 493, E., was sometimes affixed to it?—If he has, why did not Dion tell us so, and when it happened?

* Two triumphal arches in Pannonia.

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The sum of those several testimonies of Dion seems to be this—that Augustus, in the year 759, began to be so very infirm, as not to be able to attend to public business—that his infirmity ever after gradually increased—that he, infirm as he was, u. c. 761, condescended to meet Tiberius, when he triumphed over the Pannonians, in the suburbs, and thence attended him to the Septa—that he, in the year 763, made Tiberius princeps senatus—and, that he, at some time, not mentioned, caused Tiberius to be, by the Senate, invested with power equal to that which he himself had.

Having now discovered that the evidence of Paterculus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion tends to prove the same thing—viz—that Tiberius was, in the year 762 made equal with Augustus in every thing, it seems to be unnecessary to adduce that of any other writer—and yet that of a later writer, may, after all that has been said, be adduced with propriety.—It is an extract from a Panegyric cap. 11, of which Pagius. Critic, A. C. 11, n. iii, speaks highly—it is as follows Quousque hoc Maximiniane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare, tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto, post septuaginta ætatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi?

By the accounts then of those five historians, Tiberius appears to have reigned five years with Augustus. And this, for the several reasons assigned at the outset, is no inconsiderable point to be ascertained. For if Luke be understood to have reckoned the 15th of his reign from the time when he had imperial power given him by the Senate over the provinces as well as the armies, he must have meant that our Lord was baptized, by John, in the 10th of his monarchy—

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in which year, we perceive, by the chronological synopsis prefixed to this work, our Lord entered on his 30th year. Consequently this report of Luke agrees with those of Matthew, John, and the Talmud of Jerusalem, and with that concerning the expectation of the Jews that the Messiah should appear at the last jubilee.

As we have thought it necessary to be very particular in our enquiry concerning the length of this period in the reign of Tiberius, in order to justify the accuracy of the report of Luke in his gospel, it may not be amiss to add a word or two more concerning the impropriety of supposing that he would have made a wrong report concerning the year when Tiberius began to reign.

Before Luke wrote his history of the life of Christ, many others, he says, had done it. But as none of their histories were so complete as they should have been—he, who, though of Antioch, had a perfect understanding of all things from the beginning, undertook to write a more particular account of the birth and ministry of our Lord. And this, it should be observed, he did for the more ample instruction of Theophilus, a man of rank of Antioch.

Now as Luke prefaces his gospel with this account, who would expect to meet with any mis-statement in his work?—Especially with respect to the name of the governor of Syria when our Lord was born?—Or—with respect to the year when Tiberius began to reign over Syria?

He begins his gospel, as Matthew also does, with saying that in the days of Herod the king of Judea, the annunciation took place.—He not only says this, he also says what the other three Evangelists have omitted to say—viz—that Cyrenius was, when our Lord was born, the governor of Syria.—He moreover says that a taxation, or

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rather enrollment, which he seems to say was called the first, then took place every where.—Afterwards, he says, that our Lord was baptised by John, in the 15th year of Tiberius—and—that Pilate was, at that time, præfect of Judea. Besides the name of the præfect of Judea, he also mentions those of the rulers of the several districts contiguous to it, and that of the Jewish high-priest.—He says expressly that an interval of 29 years took place between the birth and baptism—or—between the first taxation under Cyrenius (which, we have observed, he says happened in the reign of Herod the king of Judea,)—and—the 15th of Tiberius.—Now Herod, it appears, died in the year u. c. 750.—Consequently, reckoning, not from the birth of our Lord, which clearly preceded the death of Herod, but from the death of that prince—and—admitting that our Lord was full 30, when he was baptised, he must have have been baptised u. c. 780—or—the 13th of the monarchy of Tiberius. But if our Lord was born two years before the death of Herod, and, was, when he entered on his ministry, only 29 years complete, he must have been baptised the 10th of Tiberius.

Now can it be supposed that Luke, who assures us that he was perfectly acquainted with all things from the beginning, and wrote for the purpose of giving a fuller account of the birth and ministry of our Lord than others had done, who was of Antioch, the capital of Syria, and published the gospel in that city, should have committed so great an error with regard to the name of the governor of Syria, at our Lord's birth, and the tax which then took place, and the duration of the reign of Tiberius over Syria? Circumstances with which myriads in that province then alive were as well acquainted as himself.

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But if, by the 15th year of Tiberius, Luke meant the the 15th year of his government of Syria, and the 10th of his monarchy, and says that Pontius Pilate was in that year the governor of Judea.—How is it that Josephus in three places of his *A.*,—viz—xviii. 2, 5, 7, seems to deny it?

C. 2, β., he says, that Annius Rufus governed Judea when Augustus died.—*Διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τῆτον Ἀννίος Ρῆφος, ἐφ' ἧ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ.*—And that Tiberius sent Valerius Gratus to succeed him, who governed Judea 11 years—*ενδεκα ετη*—which alone is enough to satisfy us that Pilate could not have governed Judea in the 10th.—Again—c. 5, §. β., he says that Pilate governed Judea 10 years—*δεκα ετεσιν*—and he has also been understood to affirm, in the same sentence, that Tiberius died, as Pilate was returning to Rome. Now, if that be his meaning, it proves that Pilate could not have been the governor till the middle of the 13th year—for $22\frac{1}{2} - 10 = 12\frac{1}{2}$.—Lastly, c. 7, §. ε., he says that Tiberius, in the course of his reign, sent only two governors of Judea—viz—Gratus and Pilate.

This is the account which Josephus gives of the commencement and duration of the government of Pilate.—An account which has been always thought unobjectionable.

But if Josephus should be understood as having said that Pilate governed Judea till the death of Tiberius, how is it that he also says, c. 5, §. β., that Vitellius, (who, Suetonius says, was from the consulship—that is—in the 20th year of Tiberius, made præfect of Syria,) on his arrival in that country—or—rather, before he went up to Jerusalem, which he seems to have done at the ensuing passover, and before he did any thing else in the east, sent—*ἐκπεμψας*—Marcellus to supply the place of Pilate, whom he ordered to go to Rome, not to

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answer the charge of the Samaritans, but—*προς α κατηγοροειν Ισδᾶτοι διδασκοντα τον αυτοκρατορα*.—If then Pilate was sent to Rome, before the passover in the 21st of Tiberius, and soon after the arrival of Vitellius in Syria, he may have been sent in the end of the 20th year, and if he had then governed Judea 10 years, he may, by the evidence of Josephus, have been appointed in the 10th of Tiberius. Does it not then appear by this evidence of Josephus that Pilate was sent to Rome before the passover in the 21st year of Tiberius? That this must have been his meaning will appear by considering what he says, in the next section, where he speaks of Vitellius as being at Jerusalem at the passover—he there says, that Vitellius conferred several favors on the Jews—that he permitted them, once more, to keep the sacred stole—and that he then deposed Caiaphas, and substituted in his room Jonathan, whom he says, c. 6, γ., Vitellius also deposed, when he went up again to Jerusalem to attend the passover after Tiberius died.—Pilate then was undoubtedly sent to Rome, and Marcellus appointed by Vitellius to succeed him, before Caiaphas was deposed: and Tiberius died just before Jonathan was deposed.—Again—Tiberius, we know, died 17th kal. April, (16th of March)—that is—before any of the days on which the passover could fall. But Josephus says, A. xv. 11, δ., that Tiberius was still alive at the passover next after the dismissal of Pilate—(which passover we are told by Mann, Bacon, Scaliger, and Ferguson happened 16th April,)—for he there says that Vitellius *wrote* to Tiberius to know if he would grant permission to the Jews to keep their sacred stole again, and that Tiberius sent an acknowledgement of his approbation—*εγραψε δε περι τωτων Τιβεριω Καισαρι, κακεινος επιτρεψε*.—Josephus adds, in the same passage, that the stole was kept by the Romans—*μεχρι των Τιβεριου χρονων*.—If then it was given up to the Jews at the passover after Pilate left

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Judea, and in the days of Tiberius, Tiberius must have been alive at the next passover, and therefore could not have died the 16th of March.

Those three considerations are enough to prove that Josephus could not have meant to say that Tiberius died as Pilate was on his passage to Rome. But those are not the only considerations—for Josephus has, in the sequel of the xviii, mentioned several other things which Vitellius did afterwards in several places of the east before the death of Tiberius.

He says, in the next §.—viz—δ—that Tiberius again wrote to Vitellius, after his return to Antioch, ordering him to enter into an alliance with Artabanus—and, again, §. ε., that Artabanus was by Vitellius persuaded to send his son Darius, an hostage to Tiberius—that Herod, the Tetrarch, who attended at the interview, immediately reported the whole transaction to Tiberius—and—that Vitellius was so offended at it that he never forgave Herod.—And all this he seems to say, §. ς., happened, not in the 20th year of Tiberius, according to our reading, but in the 22d year, according to the reading of Epiphanius.—But besides all this, which Josephus relates in the fifth chapter—he says, in the next, 6. α., that at the same time there was a disagreement between Herod, the Tetrarch, and Aretas—Εν τῇ τῆς βασιλευσίν, &c. that Herod, by the treachery of some soldiers, who had served under Philip, was defeated—that he complained of it to Tiberius—that Tiberius instantly ordered Vitellius to assist Herod—that Vitellius, notwithstanding his inveterate hatred of Herod, not only marched to his assistance, but even went up to Jerusalem with him and his friends to worship, where, on the fourth day after their arrival, they heard that Tiberius was dead.—The day before, Vitellius had deposed Jonathan from the high-priest-hood, and promoted his brother Theophilus to it.

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To all this may be added, that Josephus says, that Vitellius, when he ordered Pilate to go to Rome, appointed Marcellus to succeed him, who seems to have governed Judea the remaining year or two of Tiberius—for he also says, *i.*, that almost the first thing Caius did was to send Marullus.—And Clemens of Rome, in his *Recogn.* x. 55, appears to confirm this—for he there says that Cornelius, the Centurion was, by Cæsar—that is—by Tiberius, sent to the præfect of Cæsarea—*missus a Cæsare ad præsidem Cæsareæ*.—But if Marcellus was præfect of Judea a year or two under Tiberius, why does Josephus say afterwards in this same book, 7. *ε.*, that Tiberius sent only Gratus and Pilate?—Of this presently.

Now as Vitellius is said to have been sent to Syria—*ex consulatu*—and as he is said by Josephus to have ordered Pilate to go to Rome before the following passover, and of course long before he did any thing else in the east, why should we not conclude that Josephus cannot have meant to say that Tiberius died while Pilate was on his passage?—Let us attend to his own words.

He says—*πριν δε η τη Ρωμη προσχειν αυτον, φθανει Τιβεριος μετασας*.—Now about the meaning of the first part of this sentence there seems to be very little doubt—and if *μετασας* here means dying, the latter part of it should clearly be rendered thus—Tiberius anticipated by dying—without saying who or what Tiberius anticipated—and the whole sentence will run thus—before *he* got to Rome, Tiberius anticipated by dying, and, it may be said—by dying voluntarily—for *μετασας*—means a voluntary transition from one station or system of opinions to another—neither of which could then be said with truth of Tiberius—and if either of them could—is it not a very unusual mode of speaking to say of an emperor, expecting the arrival of his

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accused præfect, that he forestalled him by dying?—What then if we suppose that a small error has crept into the text of Josephus, and, that the whole passage is descriptive of the proceedings of Pilate?—Before he arrived at Rome he anticipated Tiberius by killing himself, which we are told by Eusebius, E. H. ii. 7, he did.—Has not Josephus himself, by omitting to acquaint us with the result of the accusation, apparently confirmed this reading?—If he lived to reach Rome, and was acquitted, would he not have been permitted to return to his government? And if he was found guilty, would he, as Tiberius was then alive, and had before, as Agrippa said in his letter to Caius, L. ad C. p. 800, C. D., reprimanded him most severely, have been permitted to escape with impunity?—And if he was found guilty would not Josephus, who seems to say that he was partly accused by the Jews, have taken care to tell us so?—Or—would not Agrippa have adverted to this recent instance of the justice of Tiberius and of the delinquency of Pilate, in his remonstrance to Caius?

CHAPTER IV.

Agrippa Posthumus not murdered by Tiberius.

IT has been asserted by Tacitus, Suetonius and Dion that Tiberius, soon after the death of Augustus, caused Agrippa Posthumus to be assassinated.—Let us enquire what reason there is to think that he may have done it.

Paterculus, ii. 112, describes the exploits of the army under Tiberius in Pannonia, the year the war commenced u. c. 759—that part of the army which was under the command of Messalinus, he says, was victorious, but that under A. Cæcina and S. Plautius was nearly vanquished by the improvidence of the generals.—Having said this, he, quite unexpectedly, proceeds in the end of the same chapter to give an account of the disgrace and death of Agrippa, the son of Julia, and the adopted son of Augustus.—Hoc fere tempore, says he, Agrippa qui eodem die, quo Tiberius, adoptatus ab avo suo naturali erat, et jam ante biennium qualis esset, apparere coeperat, mirâ pravitate animi atque ingenii in præcipitia conversus, patris atque ejusdem avi

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fui animum alienavit fibi.—Having thus informed Vinicius, that Agrippa had, the year the Pannonian war began, given proofs of his depravity, and that he was now become so ungovernable as to alienate the affections of his grandfather, he subjoins—*Moxque crescentibus in dies vitiis, dignum furore suo habuit exitum.*

Now if Agrippa did not serve in Pannonia the year the war commenced—or—u. c. 759, and by some rash act, while serving in that country, forfeit the regard of his grandfather, why should Paterculus have inserted an account of his flagrant misconduct in this place?—Especially, as he had immediately before, mentioned the severe loss which that part of the army, under A. Cæcina and S. Plautius, had suffered by the temerity of those commanders—for to their temerity he imputes it—*qui, multum à more imperatoris sui discrepantes, ante in hostem inciderunt, quam per exploratores, ubi hostis esset cognoscerent.*—This however we know that Dion says, l. 55, p. 569, E., that Germanicus was, u. c. 760, sent into Pannonia, instead of Agrippa, who had, by his vile conduct, so offended his grandfather that he disinherited him, and banished him to Planasia, and caused his effects to be placed in the military chest.—That Agrippa was always very ferocious we are assured by the evidence of other historians.

Suetonius, ii. 65, having observed that he was adopted with Tiberius, immediately subjoins—*E quibus Agrippam brevi, ob ingenium fordidum ac ferox, abdicavit* (that is, as Quinctilian explains it, in *Declamat.*, disinherited him) *sepofuitque Surrentum.*—This severity of Augustus was so far from making him better, that it only served to make him worse.—He was, says Suetonius, in that chapter, so far from being more tractable, that he was daily more outrageous.—*Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentio rem.*—This incorrigibleness made Augustus think it necessary to transport him—

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in insulam transportavit—and there to keep him confined under a guard—sep̄sitque insuper custodiâ militum.—And moreover, adds Suetonius, Augustus, not satisfied with all this coercion, prevailed on the Senate to make a decree to render his confinement there perpetual—Cavit etiam senatus consulto, ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur—which by the accounts of all other historians was done, for they say, that he was, after the death of Augustus, in the custody of a tribune.—Why then should Augustus have shewn so much displeasure to the only son of his only daughter, whom he had but a few years before, adopted, if that son was not, as all historians say, very depraved, vicious, and ungovernable?

Both Suetonius and Tacitus, who acknowledge that such were his faults, say that he was not made better even by this severe punishment.—Of whom the former says, that Augustus, at every mention of him and Julia, used to exclaim, in the bitterness of his mind—*Λιθ' ὀφελον αγαμος τ' εμμεναι αγονος τ' απολεσθαι*—and that he used to call Julia and her two children, his—*treis vomicas*—and, his—*tria carcinomata*.—Tacitus says, that by far the greater part of the Roman people had the same opinion of him, and, that they considered him as more enraged by his ignominious confinement—*pars multo maxima imminentes dominos variis rumoribus differebant—trucem Agrippam, et ignominiâ accensum, non ætate neque rerum experientiâ tantæ moli parem.*

But though Tacitus says, that by far the greatest part of the Roman people were, after the death of Augustus, persuaded that Agrippa was not in the least tamed by his long confinement, yet in the next chapter, i. 5, he thinks it not amiss to relate a rumour which, he says, *had* prevailed before the death of Augustus—*Quippe rumor incesserat—viz—*that he, attended only by Fabius Maximus, a *few* months

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before he died, failed to Planasia, where Agrippa was confined, to see him—that they were both much affected—that Maximus, on his return, discovered the whole affair to his wife Martia, she to Livia, and she again, instead of concealing the discovery from Augustus, could not forbear from letting him know that she had been brought acquainted with the whole proceeding.—Soon after, says Tacitus, Maximus died, but whether naturally, or by some contrivance he could not say—this, however, he says—that his widow, was, at his funeral, overheard to lament that she had been the cause of his death.—Seemingly intimating by this that Augustus was so much under the control of Livia, that he, infirm as he was, contrived to take this trip to Planasia (which is said to have been near the island of Corsica) by stealth—and that she, after all his contrivance to conceal it from her, got intelligence of it, and contrived to make the quietus, not only of his trusty confidant for having been at the interview, but of her own husband too—at least, some, says Tacitus, suspected it—*et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant.*

Such is the ridiculous rumour which Tacitus has thought proper to insert in his annals.—A story the credibility of which, he himself, we have just seen, has, in the very chapter immediately preceding, completely destroyed.—For, if by far the greater part of the Roman people, as he had, c. 4, said, were persuaded, but just before the death of Augustus, that Agrippa was still as fierce as ever and enraged by his ignominious confinement, how can it be supposed that Augustus, who, not long before, could not, as Suetonius says, bear to hear his name mentioned, was entirely ignorant of it?—And if he knew that he was not at all softened by his confinement, why should we believe that Augustus was so fond of seeing him as to undertake a clandestine voyage across the Tyrrhene sea for that purpose?—And at

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a time too, when, as Dion, we have seen, says, he was unable to receive the senators, as usual, at his own house? Does not Paterculus, who lived at the time, say enough, ii. 112, to lead us to suppose that he died not long after his banishment—and—by his own ferocity?—What else can he have meant by—*moxque* dignum furore suo habuit exitum?—And does he not seem to mean the same thing, ii. 123, by leaving us to suppose that Augustus, in his last moments, took not the least notice of him?—He there says—*et ingravescente in dies valetudine, cum sciret, quis volenti omnia post se salva remanere, accersendus foret, festinanter revocavit filium.*—And what son, if Agrippa was then alive, could he have meant?—Or rather—which of them attended his summons?—*scil.*—Not Agrippa, but Tiberius—*ille ad patrem patriæ expectato revolavit maturius.*

Agrippa then, if alive in the last illness of Augustus, was even then, by the evidence of Tacitus himself, thought by most people to be very unfit to govern.—He moreover was, by the evidence too of Tacitus himself, in a small island under the custody of a *tribune*.—He moreover, had been, and by the evidence too of Tacitus himself, ex-filiated, by a decree of the Senate at the request of Augustus—why then should Tacitus have said that the first act of the *new* princely power of Tiberius was to order Posthumus Agrippa to be assassinated.—*Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Posthumi Agrippæ cædes.*—What had Tiberius, who was so incomparable a general and so egregious a character, to fear from him, whom he says, almost every body knew to be a raw, unexperienced, ferocious youth, and was then under a military guard in a remote island?—But despicable as Agrippa was generally known to be, he tells us further, ii. 39, that one of his slaves found interest enough to procure a ship of burden, and resolution enough to attempt to rescue him from the place of confinement, and that he failed in his attempt only by the heaviness of his ship.

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Suetonius agrees with Tacitus in saying that Agrippa was assassinated.—He says, that he was assassinated by the contrivance of Livia, and, before the death of Augustus was known.—He also says, that Clemens, the zealous slave of Agrippa, contrived to assemble a no despicable body of men to revenge the death of his master before Tiberius had resolved on accepting the government—and—that this was one of the causes of his hesitation.

So absurd are the attempts of those two historians to make it appear that Tiberius ordered Agrippa to be assassinated.—But after all that they have said on this point, it will not be difficult to prove, even by their own evidence, that it was the well-founded opinion of many that Agrippa died, as Paternulus seems to have said, before Augustus. Dion says, l. 57, p. 604, A., that it was the persuasion of some that Augustus himself, *before his death*, ordered him to be assassinated—
 οτι ο Αυγυςτος αυτον υπο την τελευτην απεχρησατο.

Tacitus, we find, even in the chapter in which he confidently accuses Tiberius of having been the cause of the death of Agrippa, admits that some thought that Augustus himself was the cause of it.—His words are—*ceterum in nullius unquam suorum necem duravit; neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni illatam, credibile erat.*—Now why should he have said this, unless there had been a report that Augustus himself was the cause of his death?—Indeed that Agrippa was dead before the death of Augustus, Tacitus, we find, admits, iv. 57, where he says, that Augustus had thoughts of making Germanicus a monarch, but that he being entreated by Livia not to do so, made Tiberius the head and placed Germanicus under him.

The evidence of Suetonius on this point will be found to comport pretty much with that of Tacitus and Paternulus.

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He, iii. 23, gives an account of the preamble of the will of Augustus, which, he says, begun thus—*Quoniam sinistra fortuna Caium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius, &c.*—He here seems to regret the loss of Caius and Lucius, but of Agrippa he says not a word.—And, in the body of it he directs, that neither Julia nor *her daughter* should be buried with him, but of Agrippa he here also says not a word.—This surely is something like a proof that Agrippa was then dead.—Now when does Suetonius say Augustus made his will?—viz—ii. 101, a year and four months before his own death, at which time he deposited it, under seal, with two codicils, written partly by himself, and partly by his freedmen, Polybius and Hilarion, with the vestal virgins.

Let us now hear what Dion says of this matter.

He says, l. 56, p. 591, C., that Augustus left four books containing accounts of the resources of the state, with directions for his successor, &c.—He there enumerates the contents of those books, and in the fourth, he says, that he gave to Tiberius and the community—*τῷ κοινῷ*—certain commands and directions, one of which was this—that they should not make many free.—Dion says, moreover, that to all the rest he subjoined this advice—viz—that they should commit the republic to the care of more than one, and, to men of *skill and experience*, and by no means to let it depend on the caprice of any individual, lest he should be fond of tyranny.—By which surely it appears that Augustus was, at that time, perfectly uncontrolled by Livia.—The name of Agrippa, Dion does not say was mentioned in any of those volumes.

By the evidence of those historians then, as well as by that of Patereulus, it appears that Agrippa was, when Augustus made his

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will, dead—that is—as Suetonius says, ii. 101, before the third of April u. c. 766.—Testamentum, L. Planco, C. Silio, Cofs. iii.—Nonas Aprilis ante annum et quatuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo, &c.—a year and four months before Augustus died.—Nay it appears by what Dion says, l. 56, p. 587, B. C., that Agrippa was dead before the year u. c. 766—or rather, before the second of September u. c. 765—for in that page he says, that Augustus, when old, and before he accepted the management of the republic the last time commended Germanicus to the Senate, and the Senate to Tiberius.

We have in the preceding chapter proved that Augustus was unable to undertake the voyage to Planasia—and, we have in this proved, that he appears not to have had any inclination to see Agrippa, but it will not be amiss here to say a few words of the danger of crossing the Tyrrhene sea, and likewise to shew that he was otherwise engaged during the few months specified by Tacitus.

Horace, in an ode, l. iv. 15, addressed to Augustus himself, describes a voyage across the Tyrrhene sea as remarkably hazardous.—Ne parva Tyrrhenum per æquor vela darem.—How then can we suppose that Augustus infirm, as he is represented by Dion to have been, and overcome by fear, as he is represented, both by him and Paterculus, to have been, would, a few months before he died, have ventured his aged frame across that sea merely to condole with Agrippa?—And if he was able and inclined to see his exiled grandson, and to go in a small bark across the Tyrrhene sea for that purpose, yet if he did it only a *few months* before he died, and by *stealth*, how will it appear to agree with what Suetonius and Dion say?

Suetonius says, that the ceremony of concluding the lustrum required his attendance at Rome, but a few months only before he died—that he then ordered Tiberius to conclude the solemnity—and

Agrippa Posthumus not murdered by Tiberius.

after that ordered him to Illyricum, and accompanied him so far as Beneventum—and after that again removed from place to place on the coast of Campania, and in the islands nearest it, till he was so ill that he could go no further.—Paterculus and Dion too agree with Suetonius in saying that Augustus spent the last three or four months of his life in going from place to place in Campania.—Now if Augustus was thus employed during the last three or four months of his life, how can he be supposed to have had an opportunity of going, incog. to Planasia?

Suetonius moreover appears to have flatly contradicted the prevalence of such a rumour, for he says, iii. 22, that it was, in his days, still an unsettled point whether Augustus himself had not left orders for the execution of Agrippa.—Quos codicillos, dubium fuit, Augustus ne moriens reliquisset quo materiem tumultus post se subduceret: An nomine Augusti Livia, et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro dictasset.—Now if it was, from the days of Augustus to those of Suetonius, a matter of doubt whether Augustus had, in his last moments, himself given the order for the execution of Agrippa, of course the report of his trip to Planasia must have been then, if known, quite discredited.

Suetonius then has, besides the having given us an account of the rooted antipathy of Augustus to Julia and her children, and, of the total omission of the name of Agrippa in his will, said enough to convince us that it was generally understood that his resentment against his adopted grandson continued to the very last.

Dion too seems not only not to have been aware that such a report was ever current, but to have almost as flatly contradicted the possibility that it could ever have been received as Suetonius—for, besides taking no notice of it, he not only says, l. 56, p. 588, C., that

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Augustus was, in the consulship of Munatius and Silius—and therefore the year before he died, so infirm as to be seldom able to attend the Senate—and—with Suetonius, that he spent the last three or four months of his life in making the tour of Campania.—He even says, l. 56, p. 589, D., that is was suspected by some, but, says Xiph. p. 97, E., by himself never, (and perhaps for the reason assigned 96 E.) that Livia was the cause of the death of her husband—and, (as they say) for fear lest he should recall—καταγαγῆν Agrippa from his insular confinement to make him a *monarch*. But how could this be, if Tiberius was, by a decree of the Senate, made colleague with Augustus in every thing five years before his death?

But does not the belief of this report by some—viz—that Livia hastened the death of Augustus, because she was afraid that he would recall Agrippa to make him a monarch, seem to imply that some thought that Augustus would not be directed by Livia, in any matter, to the very last.—Why then should we believe that he would have concealed his voyage from her? Are we not told, by Suetonius, that he would not permit Tiberius to return from Rhodes, even though importuned by Livia, without the consent of Caius, and then indeed, only on condition, that he should not interfere in state matters?—And are we not told, by the same writer, that he ordered Tiberius to conclude the last lustrum that he made—that he then ordered him to Illyricum—and, that when he found his strength decaying, he recalled him to take his last farewell of him. And are we not told by Dion, l. 58, p. 622, A., that Livia was, to the last, remarkably submissive to Augustus—τοιαυτὴ μὲν ἡ Λιβία εὐγενετο.

This story then of Augustus having sailed to Planasia, by stealth, which is recorded by Tacitus, (and by him only) in the beginning of his annals, appears to be a despicable fiction, and a fiction invented,

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not improbably, by himself, to calumniate Livia, and to impress his reader, at the outset, with a most horrible idea of the manner in which Tiberius began his new princely career.

As to his insinuation that Livia poisoned Augustus, what stronger proof can be given of her innocence of that crime, than what Suetonius and Dion say, of the tranquil manner in which he died?—Suetonius says, ii 99, that Augustus was, at the time of his death (which, by the bye, he says, happened not at Rome but at Nola) surrounded by his friends—that he asked them—if they thought that he had acted his part on the theatre of life well—and that he then said—*Δοτε κροτον, και παντες υμεις μετα χαρας κτυπησατε.*—Suetonius also adds—*fortitus exitum facilem, et qualem semper optaverat.* Dion says, p. 589, 590, nearly the same.

On reconsidering the whole of what has been said—the acknowledged fierceness of Agrippa, his inexperience as a general, and the means which Augustus took to reclaim him, and the precaution which Augustus afterwards took to disinherit him, by ordering the Senate to pass a decree for that purpose, on the one hand—and, on the other, the most excellent character of Tiberius at that time, (which is acknowledged even by Tacitus himself, and in two places—viz—*A. i. 12, and vi. 51,*) and his transcendent abilities as a general, (which were acknowledged by Augustus himself,)—when we consider all this, we shall not have the least reason to suppose (if Agrippa was then alive) that Augustus would have appointed him a colleague with Tiberius in the succession, much less, as Dion would persuade us, a monarch—or—that Tiberius would have been so jealous of his influence as to think of cutting him off.

 CHAPTER V.

Germanicus died naturally.

HAVING now discovered that there is, at least, some reason to think that Agrippa did not survive Augustus, as Paternus seems to say, and consequently that the reports of Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion, as to the time and cause of his death, appear to be wrong—and—that their reports, as to the cause of it, appear to be rather inconsistent—let us now proceed to inquire whether the reports of the same three historians, concerning the cause of the death of Germanicus, appear to be less objectionable.

Suetonius says, iv. 1, that Germanicus died, at Antioch, of a lingering disorder, not *without a suspicion* that it was occasioned by poison—*diutino morbo Antiochiæ obiit, non sine veneni suspitione.*—He then proceeds to mention the facts on which the suspicion was grounded—of which the principal one serves to destroy the credibility of the other two.—In the beginning of chapter 2, he says, that Germanicus, *as was thought*, died by the contrivance of Tiberius, and by the means of Cn. Piso, whose obloquy and offensive behaviour was too much for his *weak* state.—*Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude*

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Tiberii, ministerio et opera C. Pisonis: qui sub idem tempus Syriæ præpositus, nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam ægrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus, nullo adhibito modo, affecit.—The same thing he says, iii. 52—Germanico usque adeo obtrectavit, ut et præclara facta ejus pro supervacuis elevaret; et gloriosissimas victorias, seu damnosas Reipublicæ increparet. Quod vero Alexandriam propter immensam et repentinam famem inconsulto se adiisset, questus est in Senatu. Etiam causa mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriæ creditur:—And again, vii. 2, V., he says, that Piso was the cause of of his death, and that he was condemned for it, on the accusation of P. Vitellius.

Tacitus says, A. ii. 69, that Germanicus himself suspected Piso, who had retired from Syria to Coos, of having, before he left Syria, either *poisoned* or *bewitched* him—that there however appeared stronger marks of witchcraft than of poison—such as human relics found about the house, charms, devotions, the name of Germanicus inscribed on plates of lead, half burnt ashes, and other devices used by witches.—And again, 73, he says, that the body of Germanicus was exposed in the forum, at Antioch, for the purpose of discovering whether there was any reason to think that he died, not of poison, but of witchcraft.—He says nothing of the livid spots, nor of the still more remarkable circumstance that his heart remained unconsumed by the fire that consumed his body, facts mentioned by Suetonius.

Josephus says, A. xviii. 2, ε., that Germanicus was poisoned by Piso.

Dion says, l. 57, p. 615, D., that he died by the contrivance of Piso and Plancina—and by witchcraft—the tokens of which were found in his own house.

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Those reports that the death of Germanicus had been accomplished either by witchcraft or by poison appear to be not at all satisfactory.—And as to Tiberius having been privy to his death, both Suetonius and Tacitus have said enough to prove the futility of the insinuation—Suetonius, in one place, iii. 56, and Tacitus, in several, A. iii. 56, and iv. 52, 53, 54.—Tacitus, iii. 56, says, that Tiberius three or four years after the death of Germanicus demanded the tribunitial authority for Drusus, and observed to the Senate, that he, as long as Germanicus lived, had desisted from making the demand out of respect to him.—Now why should Tiberius, if he had been conscious to himself that the people suspected him of having been the cause of the death of Germanicus, have thought it at all necessary to mention him on this occasion?—This alone seems to be almost enough to prove that he knew nothing of the matter. The remark, however, which, Tacitus says, he subjoined, proves more clearly that he was innocent of the charge.—For he says, that he also observed that his son Drusus then had a wife and *three children*—why then should Tiberius, who, by the account of Paterculus and Dion, seems to have been much interested in the welfare of Germanicus, be suspected of having been the cause of his death?—And of having sent him to Syria to be murdered, and shortly after Cn. Piso to kill him in that country?—Again—iv. 52, 53, 54, he says enough to convince us that Agrippina must, if she was such a termagant, as he represents her to have been, and if she was persuaded that Tiberius had been the cause of the death of her brother and husband, have acted very inconsistently, for he says, c. 52, that she, in a rage, intruded on Tiberius, while sacrificing to his father, and told him that it was of no use to do so while he persecuted his posterity, alluding to the case of her cousin Claudia Pulchra.—And, in the next chapter, 53, he says, that when Tiberius once, in her illness, paid her a visit, she, in a fit

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of resentment, refused to speak for some time, and at last, after having shed tears profusely, she complained to him—not of his having been the murderer of her first husband and brother, but that she wanted another husband.—And what reply does Tacitus say Tiberius made to her?—Not the least.—For *fear* of giving any *offence* he immediately left her.—This private anecdote of the family, subjoins Tacitus, I found in the commentaries of her daughter.—Lastly, in the 54th chapter, Tacitus tells us a still more unexpected story—viz—that Agrippina, notwithstanding the butcheries of her brother and husband—notwithstanding her ferocity and hauteur, was in the habit of frequenting the banquets of Tiberius, and that she once attended even though she had been informed, by the agents of Sejanus, that Tiberius intended to poison her—but with, it seems, a predetermination, not to look at Tiberius, not to speak to him, not to touch any thing at table.—Tiberius observing her total reserve, but whether he had been apprised of the cause of it, or not, Tacitus could not say—to make himself sure, offered her, with his own hand, some choice apples.—This served to convince her of the truth of what she had heard, and she therefore, ordered the servants to take them all away.—Tiberius, says Tacitus, said not a word to her, but, turning to his mother, observed that no one could wonder if he never invited her more, as she suspected him of a design to poison her.—Suetonius says, iii. 53, that he never invited her afterwards.

Now though those two historians appear to have said enough to render their own insinuation that Tiberius was the cause of the death of Germanicus questionable, yet let us not spare any pains to examine whether there be any thing like a foundation for it.

Germanicus, the younger, was the only son of Drusus, first surnamed Germanicus, and of Antonia, minor, who was the daughter of

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M. Anthony and Octavia.—He was also the adopted son of his uncle Tiberius, the only brother of Drusus. The attachment of Tiberius and Drusus to each other is spoken of by historians (a) as very remarkable. And that of Tiberius and Antonia (who is represented by all historians (b) to have been a most excellent woman) is spoken of, by many writers, as having been no less remarkable.—It was she who contrived, by the means of her freedman Pallas (c) and her maid Cænis, (d) to apprise Tiberius, then residing at Capreæ, of the treachery of Sejanus. It was she too who dissuaded her grandson Caius, by Germanicus, on his succeeding Tiberius, (for Tiberius, it seems, after having murdered his father and uncle, appointed him his successor) from liberating his and her friend Agrippa, whom Tiberius had, about six months before his death, imprisoned for treacherous expressions, as Josephus would, A. xviii. 7, ε. 5, have us to believe, in favor of Caius.

Germanicus had a sister, named, as Tacitus says, Livia, but as Suetonius and Dion say, Livilla, who was married to her cousin Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by Vipsania, the daughter of Vipsanius Agrippa, whom Tiberius was compelled to divorce in order to marry Julia u. c. 742.—The mutual fondness of Germanicus and Drusus was, as Tacitus observes, A. ii. 43, as remarkable as that of Tiberius and Drusus—sed fratres egregie concordēs, et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

Thus was Germanicus—the nephew and the adopted son of Tiberius—and the brother by adoption, and the brother-in-law of his only son Drusus.—By so many ties was Germanicus connected with the family of Tiberius.

(a)—Livy. Epit. 140. (b)—V. Max. iv. 3. (c)—Jos. A. xviii. 7. 5.

(d)—Dion l. 66. p. 751. B.

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Let us now proceed to enquire a little about his wife Agrippina.

She was the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, and she became the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, by his marriage with her mother.—She was also the sister of that Agrippa, the cause of whose death we have been just considering, and the half-sister of Vipsania Agrippina the first wife of Tiberius.—The haughtiness of her spirit is acknowledged by every writer, and by no one more than by Tacitus, who, in several places of his annals—viz—i. 33, ii. 72, 75, 78, iv. 52, 53, vi. 25, describes her as a sort of female fury—even after the death of her husband—and, in the last mentioned place, as being greedy of dominion—*dominandi avida*.—Dion, says of her, l. 57, p. 105*—*ην γαρ καχεϊνη φρονηματοδες γυνη*.—Her husband, Germanicus, was, says Tacitus, so well aware of her unbounded ambition, that he, while dying, gave her the following advice—*Tum ad uxorem versus, per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, sævienti fortunæ submitteret animum; neu regressa in urbem æmulatione potentiae validiores irritaret*.—This advice, observes Tacitus, Germanicus gave his wife before all their friends.—And, subjoins Tacitus, he gave other secretly, by which, says he, he was thought to have cautioned her against offending Tiberius—*et alia secreto, per quæ credebatur ostendere metum ex Tiberio*.

This is the account which Tacitus gives of the last words of Germanicus to his wife, by which it seems, she could not have been much better than her brother Agrippa, whose fierceness we have seen hastened his death.—But why does he say, that Germanicus, in the presence of his friends, advised his wife, on her return to the city, not to emulate the power of the more powerful—and then again, in

* Xiph.

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secret, to have cautioned her against offending Tiberius?—Did he suppose her to be so high-minded as to think of vying with Tiberius for monarchy?—If not, what reason had he to be apprehensive that she might have any thing to fear from him? Had he not, but just before, deposited with his friends his dying request—viz—to report to his father and brother, that is, to Tiberius and Drusus, how miserably he had ended his life—*referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus, miserrimam vitam pessimâ morte finierim?*—And does not this seem to imply that Germanicus had, to the last, the greatest expectations from the known regard of his father and brother? If not that he thought it more advisable to request his friends than his wife to report to Tiberius and Drusus in what a miserable state he died?

Agrippina, we may well suppose, took care to follow the last advice of her dying husband—at least—as to any competition for power. Historians, we find, agree in saying that she did not. Even Tacitus, we have seen, represents her as having been not afraid to intrude on Tiberius at any time, and any where, and to interrupt any business, however solemn, with indecent clamours. And both he and Suetonius even represent her as so daring in her complaints as to have provoked the following solitary expostulation from Tiberius—are you therefore hurt, my child, because you cannot govern?—And that such was her predominant passion, to the very last, Tacitus affirms, A. iv. 25. Paterculus says, of her, ii. 130, and her eldest son Nero—*Quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote, dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est?*—And all this Paterculus seems to say of her before the death of Livia, for he immediately subjoins—*Cujus temporis ægritudinem auxit amissa mater eminentissima, &c.* Tacitus himself appears to have confirmed what Paterculus says of her—for he says, A. v. 3, *missæque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litteræ, quas pridem adlatas et cohibitas ab*

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Augustâ credidit vulgu—haud enim multum post mortem ejus recitatae sunt.—And what does he say was the substance of this epistle of Tiberius to the Senate?—Scil.—verba inerant quæsitâ asperitate: sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium—amores juvenum et impudicitiam nepoti objectabat—in nulum ne id quidem confingere ausus, *adrogantiam oris* et contumacem animum incusavit.—But was this really the substance of the charge?—Would Tiberius, who was not overfond of troubling himself about trifles, who was then, as Dion says, l. 58, 623, not the autocrat of the Roman empire, but of Capreæ, who was then, as Juvenal says, in a state of security, have thought of bringing so unimportant a charge against the widow and the eldest son of Germanicus, and in the Senate, at a time when, as Tacitus himself says, in the chapter before, one of the consuls used to divert the fathers with sarcastic jokes on him?—What says Suetonius of this matter?—He, iv. 30, says, that Caius himself used to inveigh against all the senators for having been the accusers of his mother and brothers, and to say that the severity of Tiberius was really excusable, considering who were the accusers.—All the senators then, and not Tiberius, were, by the confession of her own son, the accusers of Agrippina.—Pretty nearly the same thing we find attested by Philo, in his work against Flaccus, p. 748, F., where he says, that Flaccus, the governor of Egypt, administered the affairs of his province five years under Tiberius, better than any former præfect—that he, soon after the death of Tiberius, was so worn out with continued grief on that account, that he was, at last, when he heard of the murder of his grandson, a few months after, incapable of attending to the duties of his station—and, perhaps, adds Philo, he was conscious of having been one of those who, by their accusations, were the cause of the death of the mother of Caius.—ΕΙΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΗ ΓΑΙΣ ΜΗΤΕΡΙ ΚΑΘ' ΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΙΧΕ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ, ΕΦ ΑΙΣ ΑΝΗΡΕΘΗ, ΓΕΓΟΝΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΦΟΒΟΝ ΑΛΩΣΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΛΕΛΗΣΜΕΝΟΣ.—

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By this it appears that it was generally thought that many were her accusers—and—that there was more than one article of accusation.—And if Flaccus did not accuse her of endeavouring to prevail with him to second her treasonable designs against Tiberius, does not Philo seem to be a little inaccurate in saying that Flaccus was one of those who were the cause of her death?—For how could Flaccus be said to have been any way instrumental in her death, if he, in the 17th year of Tiberius, was sent to Egypt? Agrippina, says Tacitus, vi. 25, died in the 19th year. And, if we may believe Suetonius, iv. 10, was banished to Pandataria before the death of Livia—*et eâ relegatâ in Liviæ Augustæ proaviæ suæ contubernio mansit*.—Consequently Flaccus must have been sent to Egypt two years before her death, and, at least, three years after her banishment.

Have we not then reason to suspect that some other must have been the offence of Agrippina besides that assigned by Tacitus.—If she was accused of arrogance only, why were the senators said by Caius to have accused her to Tiberius?—Why was Flaccus said to have joined others in her accusations?—Why does Tacitus himself say, v. 4, that the populace beset the senate-house with her banners?—*Simul populus effigies Agrippinæ ac Neronis gerens, circumfistit Curiam, &c.*—That Sejanus complained in the Senate that the grief of Tiberius was despised—that the people were disaffected—that new discourses—conciones—were now heard and read—new decrees—consulta—of the fathers—that nothing remained but to take arms, and to place themselves under those leaders whose banners they bore. If her offence was no greater, why has Paternulus told us that Tiberius was *forced* to grieve, to be indignant, to be ashamed? If it really was no greater, had he not several other incomparably greater causes to grieve?—And especially for the recent loss of his mother?

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Tacitus then appears to differ, in three points, from every other historian, who has spoken of the offence of Agrippina—viz—with regard to her accusers, the alleged offence, and the time when she was banished.—Indeed what he says of the two former seems to be almost contradictory of the latter.—For if Tiberius had so long borne the termagant rants of Agrippina, with so much composure, and had then retired from the management of state affairs in disgust, and, after the death of his mother, permitted Sejanus to transact all public business, and if he, as Tacitus himself says, spent his time in amenity—or, as Juvenal says, in security, would he have given himself the trouble to accuse her of arrogance only? As to the third particular—viz—the time when she was accused—Tacitus disagrees with Paterculus and Suetonius not a little.—Paterculus, we have seen, mentions the grief which Tiberius suffered on account of the misdemeanor of Agrippina and her son immediately before that of the distress which he suffered for the loss of his mother. Suetonius, we have just seen, says, that she was banished *before the death of Livia*—and—that Caius, her youngest son, was, on the banishment of his mother, placed under the care of Livia. Tacitus says, that she was tried *after the death of Livia*, who, he also says, v. 3, was, by the populace of Rome, supposed to have prevailed on her son to suppress this charge against Agrippina and her son Nero.

But is it possible that Tacitus could have erred concerning the order in which two so remarkable events happened? If he has, can what he says of the persuasion of the populace—viz—that the same charge had long before been brought and given up on account of Livia, be true?—And also, what he says, of the interference of Livia in state matters be also true?—If Agrippina was banished before the death of Livia, and Livia had before interfered in her behalf why did she not now?

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Let us now endeavour to bring ourselves acquainted with the last year or two of the life of her husband, in order to enable ourselves to judge of the cause of his death.

He was, says Josephus, A. xviii. 3, *ε.*, sent, by *the Senate*, into the east, after the death of Antiochus, king of Comagene, to settle a dispute between the higher and lower ranks of people in that country, of whom, the one party were for continuing the government, and the other for putting themselves under the protection of the Romans—and there, says Josephus, he was murdered by the contrivance of Piso, and his wife Plancina. This report of Josephus is, we find, nearly attested by Tacitus, A. ii. 42, who there says, that Tiberius, in the year of Rome 770, after he had, in the name of Germanicus, distributed among the populace of Rome 300 sesterces, and had designed him for his colleague in the consulship the year following, (which acts of benevolence, says Tacitus, the people did not think proceeded from any real regard to him,) either contrived, or took the advantage of contingencies, to send him away from Rome, under a pretence of conferring honor on him.—*Ceterum Tiberius, nomine Germanici, trecenos plebi sestertios viritim dedit, seque collegam consulatui ejus destinavit, nec ideo sinceræ caritatis fidem adsecutus, amoliri juvenem specie honoris statuit, struxitque causas aut forte oblatas arripuit.*—By this then it appears that Tiberius, and not the Senate, sent Germanicus from Rome to settle the affairs at Comagene. But, besides this, Tacitus, in the sequel of the same chapter, mentions another cause, not noticed by Josephus—viz—that Syria and Judea, unable to pay their tributes any longer, prayed to have them lessened.—This he says in the 42d chapter, but in the 43d, he seems to affirm, that all the east was in a state of confusion.—*Igitur hæc, et de Armeniâ quæ supra (chapter 5) memoravi apud patres differuit; nec posse motum*

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Orientem nisi Germanici sapientiâ componi, nam suam ætatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis, adolevisse.—After having said this, he subjoins what has a little too much the appearance of a contradiction to what he had before said—viz—that Tiberius sent him, and, that he sent him with no good view.—Then, by a decree of the Senate, the transmarine provinces were assigned to Germanicus, with much larger powers, every where, than either those possess who are appointed by lot or *sent by the emperor*.—By this it appears that *the Senate*, as Josephus says, sent Germanicus to the east.—Suetonius, iv. 1, says, that Germanicus was, when he was sent to compose the differences in the east, *expelled*, and therefore, we presume, he was expelled, not by the Senate, but by Tiberius.—Consul deinde iterum creatus, ac priusquam honorem iniret, ad componendum orientis statum *expulsus*, &c. &c.—But if all the east was then in a perturbed state—and he had larger powers, every where, how could he be said to have been expelled? Tacitus says, chapter 5, that Tiberius was glad of the disturbances in the east, because, on that pretence, he could withdraw Germanicus, from his favorite legions, and expose him to new deceit and dangers in new provinces. But, if it was only a contrivance of Tiberius to remove Germanicus from the command of the German legions, did not the Senate know it? Why then did they so pompously second it? And at a time when, if we may believe Suetonius, iii. 30, 31, Tiberius had not attempted to control their deliberations?—But what says Paterculus of this matter?—He, before the death of Agrippina, observes, to a consul, with how great honor Tiberius sent his Germanicus into the transmarine provinces.—Quanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias?—ii. 129. Now how can Paterculus be supposed to have recorded this of Tiberius, in

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the face of all the Senate, if they had sent him to the east?—And with greater power than any imperial præfect? That this report of Paterculus is more credible than any of the foregoing appears likely from this consideration—that not only Syria, but the east in general, was under the care of the emperor, as Tacitus himself has admitted, A. ii. 43.—For he there says, notwithstanding he had immediately before asserted, that the Senate had given to Germanicus greater power than any imperial præfect, that Tiberius removed Creticus Silanus from the government of Syria, because his daughter was engaged to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, and appointed Cn. Piso, because he was hostile to his interests. And if the primary object of his mission was, as Tacitus says, to settle the affairs of Armenia, and to prevent the interference of the Parthians in the political arrangement of that country, we may well suppose that Tiberius, who, as Dion says, l. 55, p. 554, D., was, when he went to Rhodes, made præfect of Armenia, by Augustus, would not permit the Senate to appoint a governor of that country.

But why should Tiberius have sent Germanicus rather than his son Drusus to settle the affairs of the east?—Tacitus informs us, A. ii 43, that Tiberius confided more in the wisdom of Germanicus than he could in that of his own son Drusus. And what reason does he assign for this superior confidence?—Because, as he would have us to believe, Germanicus had more wisdom, and was the older of the two. *Igitur hæc, et de Armenia quæ supra memoravi, apud patres differuit: nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientiâ componi, nam suam ætatem vergere, Drusi nondum fatis adolevisse.* But would Tiberius, who was, by all accounts, of all men the most sagacious, and who knew as well as Tacitus, how very familiar his two sons were at the very time—sed fratres egregie concordēs, et proximorum certamini-

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bus inconcussi—A. ii. 43, have made, thus publicly, this invidious comparison between them, at any time of his monarchy, especially in the year 770?—What reason had he for saying that Germanicus was much older than Drusus—or—much wiser?—Drusus was, in the year 770, as Tacitus himself allows, A. iii. 56, 31 years of age: and Germanicus was, in the same year, 32.—Besides, long before Germanicus arrived in Syria, he was sent to oppose Maroboduus, and as Tacitus himself says, A. ii. 62, while Germanicus was making the circuit of the provinces, he contrived to subdue Maroboduus.—*Dum ea æstas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quæsit inliciens Germanos ad discordias, utque fracto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur.*—And for this exploit, he was, says Tacitus, A. iii. 11, honored for it by the Senate the very year in which Germanicus died, with an ovation. Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quanquam patres censuissent, ob receptum Maroboduum, et res priore ætate gestas, ut, ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit.—Consequently the reasons said by Tacitus to have been assigned by Tiberius for sending Germanicus to the east appear to be without the least foundation. And therefore we may well doubt whether Tiberius really assigned such. Indeed if he spoke so disparagingly of the experience and age of his own son in the year 770—how can it be supposed that he forgot himself so very much in the year 775, as to recommend him to the same Senate, as duly prepared, for eight years past—that is—from the year 767, by his experience and military achievements, to be colleague in the tribunitial authority? *Neque enim propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem, noti laboris participem sumi.*—A. iii. 56. The same

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enormous contradiction Tacitus has represented Tiberius as having made, on those two occasions, with regard to the age of his own son. For in the year 770, Tacitus says, he observed to the Senate—Drusi ætatem nondum fatis adolevisse—and—in the year 775, he says, Tiberius observed to them—esse illi conjugem et tres liberos, eamque ætatem qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capeffendum hoc munus vocatus fit, A. iii. 56.—Now Tiberius was, when he was first honored with the tribunitial authority, as we have seen, 36.—If then Drusus was, in the year 775, in his 36th year, he must have been in his 31st in the year 770.—How then can it be supposed that Tiberius then observed of his age—nondum fatis adolevisse?

Those contradictions Tacitus has represented Tiberius himself to have made publicly with regard to the age and military experience of Drusus, within a period of four or five years.—And a no less glaring contradiction, it should be observed, he appears to have represented Tiberius as having made to the general opinion of the populace of Rome, with regard to the qualifications of Germanicus as a general. In the year 767 he represents, A. i. 46, the populace of Rome as dissatisfied, because Tiberius did not go himself to quell the mutinous legions in Germany and Illyricum—and because he sent two striplings to supply his place—neque duorum adolescentium nondum adultâ auctoritate comprimi queat.—If then the populace of Rome thought that neither Germanicus nor Drusus was fit, in the year 767, to be sent to the mutinous legions, who can suppose that Germanicus could, in the year 770, have been so much more fit to be sent to the east than any other person, and especially than Drusus, who was but a year younger?

Germanicus then, we presume, on the evidence of Tacitus, was, in the year 770, sent by the Senate, with powers exceeding those of

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imperial præfects, to settle the affairs of the east, and especially of Armenia, then in disorder.—And Tiberius, he says, in the next sentence, ii. 43, was so jealous of his plenipotentiary senatorial commission, that he thought it prudent to remove Creticus Silanus from his command of Syria, because his daughter was likely to become the wife of the eldest son of Germanicus, and to send Cn. Piso to succeed him, because he was always hostile to Germanicus.—But can it have been true that Tiberius removed Creticus Silanus from the government of Syria merely because it was likely that he would be induced to side with Germanicus?—What says Dion of this same Creticus Silanus?—He says, l. 59, p. 646, A., that Tiberius honored him much (and for his virtues, as Philo also says, no doubt) that he took care never to oppose him, and gave up to him in every thing—ο μὲν γὰρ Τιβερίου ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν ὥστε μὴτε ἐκκλητὸν ποτὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δικασαὶ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνῳ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι.—Is it at all likely then that Tiberius would have recalled such a præfect from Syria, merely because it was thought there would be, at some remote time, a match between his daughter and Nero, the son of Germanicus, then, perhaps, not more than ten or twelve years old? If, indeed, Tiberius recalled Silanus for this reason only (and, admitting the truth of what he had said before, A. ii. 5—viz—Tiberius was glad to hear of commotions in the east, because by that means he had a pretence for detaching Germanicus from his favorite legions—it is not altogether unlikely) how are we to understand what he says in the next chapter, 44?—There he says, that Tiberius thought himself more secure by trusting the legions to each of his sons—seque tutiorem rebatur, utroque filiorum legiones obtinente.—If then Tiberius thought himself more secure because his sons commanded the armies, did he not see that his security was likely to be increased by retaining his friend Silanus in his government?

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But if the affairs of the east were in general in such a state of anarchy in the year 769—for so Tacitus himself says, A. ii. 5—and—if Tiberius was glad of the opportunity to send Germanicus far away—and—if the Senate were so ready to second his wishes, may we not expect that he, in that year, went to Armenia?—Let us make it our business to inquire.

In the year 770, says Tacitus, A. ii. 51, he was still at Rome, electioneering with Drusus, and did not leave Rome till after Drusus had arrived in Dalmatia.—Germanicus then began his journey.—First he went to Illyricum, and from thence to Dalmatia to see Drusus, and from thence again along the coast of the Adriatic to Nicopolis, in *Epirus*, where he entered on his second consulship. From Nicopolis he removed to Athens, where he was received with every mark of adulation. Thence he went to Eubœa, and so on, not to Asia, but to Byzantium. Then he entered the Euxine sea, the coasts of which he explored, and then returned along the coast of Asia to Rhodes, where he met Cn. Piso, hastening to Syria. Thus it seems that Piso was sent, not before Germanicus, but *after* him, and, it may be added, a long while after him, notwithstanding the affairs of the east had been in a confused state, as Tacitus says, A. ii. 5, two years before. As then Germanicus delayed so long to execute the primary object of his mission, why should we not suspect that Tiberius found it necessary, to send, in the mean time, Piso into Syria?—Thither, however, he sent him, and there Piso arrived before Germanicus, notwithstanding Germanicus had been sent, by the Senate, with more ample powers than any imperial præfect, to settle the affairs of the east, which had now been in confusion about two years.

And how did Germanicus behave when he arrived in Syria?

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He first placed a royal diadem on the head of Zeno, as king of Armenia—then he reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, and appointed a præfect for the first time over Comagene.—Thus every thing being settled, he ordered Piso, or his son, to march, with a part of the legions, into Armenia.—This Piso refused to do.—This disobedience of orders caused a misunderstanding between them, which, by the interposition of friends, seems to have been accommodated.—After this Germanicus visited the king of the Nabathæans, and permitted him to set a heavy crown of gold on his own head and on that of Agrippina.—This offended Piso and drew some offensive animadversions from him.

The year following Germanicus, in the time of immense and unexpected scarcity, under a pretence of procuring a supply of provisions for the people of Syria, without the permission of Tiberius, entered Egypt.—Of this step, says Suetonius, iii. 52, and Tacitus, ii. 59, Tiberius complained very much.—For, says Tacitus, Augustus ordered that no senator nor knight should enter Egypt without leave from the prince.—In the mean time Piso reversed whatever orders he had left for the legions or for the cities.—This step revived their mutual criminations, in which their wives bore a very conspicuous part.—Soon after this Germanicus, on his return to Antioch, fell sick, and, in his last moments, surrounded by his friends, he, as we have seen, gave his wife some prudent advice, which seems to imply that much of the opposition which he had experienced, had been occasioned by her hauteur—and—moreover, said something to her afterwards in private.—Having finished his exhortation to his wife, and requested his friends to report to his *father* and brother, what he had said, he expired.

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Piso was soon after accused of having poisoned him—and condemned for it by the Senate, contrary to the inclination of Tiberius, who was therefore supposed to have given private orders to Piso to cut him off.

Let us inquire how far Tiberius is likely to have given this order.

That Tiberius was considered by Agrippina as any way privy to the death of her husband is rendered not a little improbable by what we have already seen Suetonius and Tacitus say of her subsequent behavior to him at Rome—her intrusions—her repeated attendance at his entertainments—and her complaint to him of her want of another husband.—But this is not the only proof of the innocence of Tiberius in this matter.—The conduct of Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, if examined, will afford a proof equally strong that she also considered Tiberius as perfectly innocent of the death of her son.

Antonia, we have seen, was the widow of Drusus, the mother of Germanicus, and the first cousin of Julia, the mother of Agrippina.—Consequently she must be supposed to have known all the circumstances of her son's death.—How then do historians say she behaved after the loss of her only son?—Tacitus says, iii. 3, that she did not attend his funeral, and why she did not, he says, he could never discover, by any written document whatever—possibly, says he, she may have been unwell—or, the excess of grief may have prevented her—to those two conjectures he adds a third—which, he takes care to let us know, he thinks more likely to have been the real cause of her absence—viz—that she was kept from attending the procession by Livia and Tiberius.—And does not this look like an insinuation that Livia too was a party concerned in the death of her grand-son?—But if Antonia was thus deterred from attending the funeral procession of

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her grand-son by the contrivance of Tiberius and his mother—how is it that she, a few years after, as Josephus says, A. xviii. 7, s., apprised Tiberius, by her freed-man Pallas and her maid Cænis, that Sejanus was plotting to overthrow the government?—And how does Tacitus say Sejanus contrived to do it—scil.—by promising to marry Livia, the widow of his friend Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and the daughter of the same Antonia.—And would Antonia have voluntarily done all this for Tiberius, if she had suspected that he had been the murderer of her only son?—And how is it that she, as Josephus also says, A. xviii. 7, „, desired Caius, who was going to liberate Agrippa the day after Tiberius died, not to do it so soon, because it would appear disrespectful?

Another thing that looks like a plain refutation of the insinuation, is mentioned by Tacitus himself, and, among the events of the same year. A. ii. 88, he relates how Adgandestrius, the prince of the Catti, offered to poison Arminius, and what Tiberius said in the Senate on that occasion. He says, that Tiberius rejected the offer with disdain, or rather with indignation—and—that he acquired the fame of an ancient Roman for his abhorrence of the deed.—*Quâ gloriâ æquabat se imperatoribus prisceis.* This noble refusal of the offer of Adgandestrius, it should be remembered, happened in the course of the year in which Germanicus died, and probably but a very few months after that event—and is said, by Tacitus, to have been recorded by the writers and senators who lived at the time. Would then Tiberius have acquired so much credit for expressing himself so indignantly on this occasion before the expiration of that year, if he had been thought to have been the cause of the death of his adopted son and nephew, and the husband of his daughter-in-law Agrippina?—This testimony of Tacitus is not a little remarkable, if not alone sufficient to prove that Tiberius was considered by every body as innocent of the death of Germanicus.

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But Seneca, in three of his works—viz—*Consol. ad Marc.*, *Consol. ad Polyb.*, and *Nat. quæst.*, has afforded us still stronger proof that Germanicus died a natural death—for—in the first mentioned work, he himself says, c. 16—that Tiberius Cæsar et quem genuerat, et quem adoptaverat amisit:—in the second, he, c. 35, introduces Claudius as saying—Amisi Germanicum fratrem: quem quomodo amaverim, intelliget profecto, quisquis cogitat quomodo suas fratres pii fratres amant.—And in the last, he, l. i. c. 1, says—Vidimus circa divi Augusti excessum simile prodigium: vidimus cum de Sejano actum est: nec *Germanici mors* sine denunciatione tali fuit.—Now if Germanicus had been poisoned, would both Claudius and Seneca have spoken thus of him?—And, if Tiberius had caused him to be poisoned, would Seneca, have proposed to Marcia, under extreme grief for the loss of her son, the example which Tiberius exhibited of fortitude for the loss of Germanicus and Drusus?

CHAPTER VI.

When Tiberius began to be a bad Prince.

THE character of Tiberius is, we know, represented, by all historians, as having been very excellent till he was 56 years old—that is—till the death of Augustus. Even Tacitus admits, and, in two places, i. 12, vi. 51, that it was during so many years, so very excellent. He also says, i. 54, that his manners were more dignified than even those of Augustus, who, in compliment to Mæcenas, then fond of Bathyllus, a posture master, and to please the vulgar, used to be present at the lowest diversions—*Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Mæcenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli: neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi.**

* Tacitus, who here seems to condemn Augustus for being present at such low sports, and to commend Tiberius for not following his example, says, i. 76, of Tiberius, on a similar occasion—*cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant: alii tædio cœtus, quidam tristitia ingenii, et metu comparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuit.*

Suetonius, iii. 72, *Castrensibus ludis non interfuit solum, sed, &c.*

47, *Et iis, quæ ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit.*

Dion, p. 609, B., *συνεχέσασα γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀπηνύτα.*

When Tiberius began to be a bad Prince.

But, continues he, the manners of Tiberius were different—*alia Tiberio morum via*.^{*} Tacitus not only says this, but he adds, that Tiberius had it in contemplation to check that dissoluteness of manners, to which the generality of the people were, in consequence of the long connivance of Augustus, so much habituated—but that such was the dissolute state of them, that he dared not, *as yet*, attempt to do it—*sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum, nondum audebat ad duriora vertere*—which, surely, seems to imply that he did, afterwards, attempt to do it. Indeed, we find, that both Tacitus himself[†] and Suetonius too[‡] say expressly that he, more than once, attempted to correct the manners of the people—though as Suetonius says, iii. 59, not always without many invectives for his good intentions from miserable versifiers, who dared to reproach him for his having been an exile at Rhodes—for his abstinence from wine—for his moroseness towards his mother—and, strange to say—for his cruelty and blood-thirstiness. And how does Suetonius say this blood-thirsty tyrant behaved on those occasions?—*scil.*—he calmly said, let the bad hate me, provided the good like me—*Oderint dum probent*.[§]

* In the 74th chapter of this same book Tacitus says—*inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus Principis foedissima quæque deligeret accusator, objectaretque reo.*

† A. ii. 34, 48, 85.—iv. 14, 62.

‡ iii. 33, 35, 59.

§ Suetonius, iii. 28, *Sed adversus convitia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens subinde jactabat.*—*In civitate liberâ linguam mentemque liberas esse debere.*

Tac. A. ii. 50—*In se jacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari.*

A. iii. 10—*Spernendis rumoribus validum.*—Dion, p. 637, C. vi. 38—*Contemptor suæ infamiae.*

When Tiberius began to be a bad Prince.

But notwithstanding Tacitus has, in several places above noticed, spoken so highly of the conduct of Tiberius till the death of Augustus, yet he says, A. 72, 73, 74, that he was a very bad prince, and, seemingly, so early as the beginning of the second year of his reign, though he had then been, as he says, in the beginning of the first mentioned chapter, requested by the people to accept the title of *father of his country*, several times. In the end of that same chapter he says, that he was, as Suetonius, we have seen, also says, so notoriously *cruel*, proud, and quarrelsome with his mother, that certain unknown satyrist attacked him for those bad qualities most severely, and, as Tacitus says, exasperated him.*—Hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata, in *ſævitiam* superbiamque ejus, et discordem cum matre animum.—C. 73, he proceeds to let us know how surreptitiously he contrived to introduce a most grievous but nameless pest into Rome, how this nameless pest, was, by some unknown means then expelled, and how it then again, after some time, found means to re-enter, and, at last, blazed forth, and before the end of his reign, infected every thing.—Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus romanis prætentata crimina: ut quibus initiis, quanta arte Tiberii, gravissimum exitium irrepperit, dein repressum fit, postremo arserit, cunctaque corripuerit noscatur.—C. 74, he informs us how Romanus Hispo, a poor, unknown, restless wretch, began, soon after the affair of Falanius and Rubrius—nec multo post—to follow a course of life which the miseries of the times, and the audacity of men, afterwards rendered famous, and, that this wretch began it by finding means to become an agent to the *cruelty* of the prince—*ſævitix principis adrepit*—that is—by obtaining his permission to send him private accounts, not of any one, but of any one of

* Does not this appear, to have been contradicted by Tacitus himself, by what he says in the three places referred to in the last note?

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eminence,* to the great danger of all that class. Thereby rendering himself odious to all, in order to please one, and setting an example to the rest of his sort, how to enrich themselves by seeking the destruction of the great. This base wretch, subjoins Tacitus, and all his sort, at last, met the same fate.

This is the account which Tacitus gives of Tiberius in those three chapters above-mentioned. An account which clearly seems to imply that his cruelty, &c. must have been, even in the very beginning of the second year of his reign, notorious, since those satyrists then attacked him for it, and Hispo, low as he was, thought of ingratiating himself with him, by becoming the agent of his cruelty.

But can Tacitus here have really meant that Tiberius was, even in the second year of his reign, so notoriously cruel, and at variance with his mother, and was then the introducer of this most grievous pest, and the encourager of this poor wretch to the destruction of the most eminent?—Or—should he be only understood to speak by way of anticipation?—Whether he can really have meant to say that all this happened in the beginning of the second year of his reign, or, cannot—we hope, as we go on, to be able to qualify ourselves to judge.

Dion, in several places of his, l. 57, bears pretty nearly the same testimony to the character of Tiberius, as Tacitus, we have seen, does, not only till the beginning of the second year of his reign, but till the death of Germanicus—that is—till the sixth year of his reign, and the 61st of his age, he says nothing, during that period, of the cruelty of Tiberius—of his introducing this most grievous pest—or—

* This worthless fellow, not long after, that is, as we suppose, not long after Tiberius had surreptitiously introduced the most grievous evil, accused Granus Marcellus, the prætor of Bythynia, of having spoken disrespectfully of his prince. An inevitable crime! adds Tacitus, especially when, according to the manners of the prince, he objected to him, the most filthy things.

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of the accusations of Hispo—on the contrary, he, in several places, speaks most highly of his conduct, and therefore, it seems likely that Tacitus only mentions those events by way of anticipation.—p. 603, D., he says, that he was, by the Senate, chosen emperor, for his greater excellence in virtue than even any of their own body—*ως κατα αρετην σφων προηκων*.—p. 610, C., he says, that he, for some time, lived very rationally—*σοφρωνεσατα*—and that he would not permit others to live dissolutely, but punished many for living so.*—p. 614, D., he says, that he, as long as he practised other virtues, was remarkably careful to protect the property of others,† and that he would not accept a legacy from any one who had relatives.‡—p. 715, D., he says, that he was not, till after the death of Germanicus, at all changed—that is—till after the 15th year of his reign and the 61st of his age—or—u. c. 773, when he was, of a sudden, totally changed—*Τιβεριος δε, επει το εφεδρευον εκετ' ειχεν, ες παν το θνηαντιον των προσθεν ειργασαμενων αυτω, πολλων οντων και καλων περιεση*—where, it is observable, he intimates that Germanicus was his competitor, and attributes this sudden and total change to the want of one.—Lastly, in the next, p. 616, D., he says, that this total and sudden change excited (as it well might in any one, and especially in a man of the

* Tacitus, A. ii. 48—Ceterum ut honestam innocentiam paupertatem levavit; ita prodigos & ob flagitia egentes Vibidium Varonem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senato, aut sponte cedere passus est.

† A most remarkable instance Dion mentions, l. 57, p. 609, C., being once at a public exhibition, when the people would have an excellent dancer made free, he would not consent till his master had consented to part with him and to receive the full value of him.—Tacitus, A. iii. 18, satis firmus, ut sæpe memoravi, adversum pecuniam.

‡ Tacitus, A. ii. 48—Neque hereditatem cujusquam adiit, nisi cum amicitia meruisset: ignotos et aliis infensos, coque principem nuncupantes, procul arcebat.

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most virtuous habits, and more than threescore years old,) universal astonishment—το μὲν ἐν συμπαῖν ἔτῳ μετὰ τῆς Γερμανικῆς θανάτου μετεβαλλετο, ὥστε αὐτον, μεγάλως καὶ προτερον ἐπαινεμενον, πολλῶν δὴ τότε καλλὸν θαυμάσθηναι.* Of this total change in the conduct of Tiberius Dion, p. 618, C., mentions an instance or two which he thinks worse than all the rest. He was, says he, so hardened in wickedness, just after the death of Drusus, who, he says, died, in the cons. of Sulp. and Hater, u. c. 775, that he would publish whatever any one might say of him in private†—and—that he would punish others for impiety‡ a crime of which he himself was guilty—κακὰ τῶν συνῆβαινεν αὐτῷ, πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' οἷς τῆς ἀλλοίας ὡς καὶ ἀσεβήντας ἐκολαζεν, αὐτος ἐς ἑαυτον πλημμελεῖν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χλευασμὸν οφλίσκανεῖν—for which reason, some, says he, thought he was beside himself, though many, on the contrary, did not think so, and, because he did almost all things well—τα γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διώκει—of which disposition to administer most things fairly he mentions two very striking instances, and then subjoins this remark of his own—so great inequality was there in the actions of Tiberius!—τοσούτον μὲν δὴ το διαλαττον ἐν ταῖς Τιβερίε πράξεσιν ἦν.—And in the end of the next book—viz—l. 58, p. 639, B., he denies, most expressly, that such a total change so suddenly took place in his virtuous habits—for he there says that, to the very last, he had very many, if not, most virtues.

* How different is this from what Suetonius says, iii. 26—Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paulo minus quam privatum egit.

† See p. 637, C.—Tacitus, A. vi. 38—contemptor suæ infamiæ.

‡ Can Dion be correct in this?—Does not Tacitus say, iii. 57, that the Senate decreed temples, &c. to him?—And, iv. 52, that he worshipped Augustus?—And, c. 64, that the Gods were, on his account, favorable to the Romans?—And, does not Suetonius say, iii. 36, that he expelled from Rome profane rites?

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But what reason have we to think that Tiberius considered Germanicus as a competitor?—What competitor could he have had, who, as Tacitus says, A. iii. 56, had been, by Augustus, invested with tribunitial authority, as being the person who was to succeed him—who, as both Paterculus, ii. 104, and Suetonius, iii. 21, say, had, at his adoption, received that public testimony from Augustus—“*this I do for the sake of the republic*”—who, as we have proved, chapter iii, had, five years before Augustus died, been, as Paterculus says, ii. 121, at his express command, made equal to himself in every thing—who, as Suetonius contends, iii. 21, 23, was, by that most prudent and most circumspect prince Augustus, who did nothing rashly, especially a thing of such importance, appointed his successor in consideration of his past services and his excellent character—who, as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion say,* had demanded a colleague or colleagues and had been refused—who, as Tacitus, A. i. 11, and Suetonius, iii. 24, say, would not consent to be a monarch, till the Senate, on their knees, entreated him to refuse no longer?—Who, as Suetonius says, iii. 67, was, immediately on being made emperor, saluted with the appellation of—“*father of his country*”—and, who, as Tacitus says, A. i. 46, was reflected on, by the terrified populace of Rome, as soon as they heard of the revolt of the army of Germany, for having hesitated so long to accept the sovereignty, as to have caused that mutiny.—What competitor, it may well be asked, could such a monarch be supposed to have had?—Was Germanicus, at his death, of age sufficient to be considered by him, or any one else, as a competitor?—If he was only, as Tacitus says in the last mentioned chapter the

* Tacitus, A. i. 11, 12.—Suetonius, iii. 25.—Dion, l. 57, p. 603, A.

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Roman people complained, an adult, was he at all likely, but five years after, to be considered by them as the competitor of his father?—Had not Tiberius a son, at the very time, nearly of the same age as Germanicus?—Does not Tacitus say, i. 34, that Germanicus, high as he was, only devoted himself to the service of Tiberius?—And, ii. 57, 58, that he, in his last moments, disclaimed, before his friends, any pretension to competition, and exhorted his wife to take care of offending him?—If Tiberius had considered him as a competitor, would he not, instead of complaining to the Senate of his going into Egypt, have ordered him to be punished for so doing?—And as to the sudden and total change which, as Dion pretends, took place in his good habits, immediately after the death of Germanicus, to the astonishment of every body, is it noticed by any other writer?

The evidence of Tacitus and Dion then, as to the excellence of the character of Tiberius, in the beginning of his reign, is precisely the same. But how long that excellence continued they seem to disagree not a little. Tacitus, we have seen, says, that he was, in the beginning of his reign, so notoriously cruel, &c. that satyrists had then taken the liberty of writing against him. Dion, we find, says, that he remained the same till the sixth year of his reign. Consequently, if Tacitus really meant to say that Tiberius was so soon changed, Dion evidently contradicts him. But as he appears to contradict Tacitus, so Tacitus, we shall find, in return, flatly contradicts him, and, says enough to convince any one that he did not mean to say that Tiberius was so cruel in the second year of his reign.

Tacitus takes not the least notice of this most surprising change in the habits of Tiberius, immediately after the death of Germanicus—on the direct contrary, he has, in the end of chap. ii, recorded several celebrated acts which he did in the short residue of that same year—

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two of which, it may not be amiss to adduce—chapter 87, he says, that he again refused to accept the title of “father of his country”—which was now voted him for his beneficence to the commonalty, in the time of scarcity;—and, in the next chapter, he says, that he acquired the fame of an ancient Roman for rejecting the proposal of Arminius to poison Adgandestrius.—Tacitus not only says this of Tiberius after the death of Germanicus—but he also says, iv. 1, that it was not till the beginning of the 9th year, when this sudden change took place.—C. As—C. An. Cofs, nonus Tiberio annus erat compositæ reipublicæ, florentis domus: (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat) cum *repente* turbare fortuna cæpit; sævire ipse* aut sævientibus vires præbere.—And again—chapter 6—Congruens crediderim recensere cæteras quoque reipublicæ partes, quibus modis *ad eam diem* habitæ sint: quando Tiberio mutati *in deterius* principatus initium ille annus attulit.—Where, it should be observed, he does not say, as Dion does, that either his government, or all his moral habits were, of a sudden, totally changed from the best to the worst, nor, that he was so lost to all shame that he published an account of all his vices (indeed he, iv. 57, says—that it was his opinion, that he left Rome for the purpose of concealing his cruelty and lust—sævitiâ ac libidinem—and, in the end of the vi, that he pretended to be virtuous during the life of Drusus—that he had as many good as bad qualities during that of his mother—that he concealed his lusts, during that of Sejanus—and that he, when 74, and we presume, a christian.

* How is this to be reconciled with what he had before said, i. 72—viz—hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata in *sævitiâ* et superbiam ejus et discordem cum matre animum?—If he was notoriously cruel in the second year of his reign, how can he be said to have *begun* to be cruel in the eighth?

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purfued all manner of wicked ways openly and in defiance of decency,) but only, that he began to be cruel himfelf, or, to permit others to be fo—alluding, no doubt, to his having made Sejanus his prime minifter.—But where, in all this iv. book, do we find any instance of the cruelty of Tiberius?—Indeed, if his cruelty was, as Tacitus fays, vi. 51, inteftable—inteftabilis fævitia—what reason have we to expect any instance of it recorded?—Let us, however, not think it too much to infpect the particulars recorded in it with clofe attention.

Chapter 6, he presents us with an admirable picture of his adminiftration of public affairs—a picture fcarcely inferior to that of Paterculus, which has been thought adulatory—in the end of which chapter he mentions an instance of his beneficence to the diftrefsed people of Rome, and of his conftant endeavors to prevent his provincial præfects from extorting by cruelty.—*Res fuas Cæfar fpectatiffimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex famâ mandabat; femelque adfumpti tenebantur, prorfus fine modo, cum plerique iisdem negotiis infenefcerent. Plebes acri quidem annonâ fatigabantur: fed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quâ infecunditati terrarum, aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. Et ne provinciæ novis oneribus turbarentur, atque vetera fine avaritia et crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent, providebat. Corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.*—So beneficent and humane does Tacitus fay Tiberius was, long after the death of Germanicus, and as he fays, chap. 7, till a little after the death of Drufus.—*Quæ cuncta, non quidem comi viâ, fed horridus ac plerumque formidatus retinebat tamen, donec morte Drufi verterentur: nam dum superfuit, mansere.*—In this fame year, it fhould be obferved, Drufus died.—And, fays Tacitus, chapter 8, Tiberius entered the Senate and complained that his mother's age was now extreme—that is—above 80, and his own verging—or, 65.—After the burial of his fon, fays Tacitus, chap. 13,

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Tiberius attended to the concerns of the public with unremitting attention, his solace, says he, was business—he frequented the courts of justice, he heard the petitions of the allies.—At Tiberius nihil intermissâ rerum curâ, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces fociorum tractabat.—Chapter 14, he says, that Tiberius, after the prætors had, in vain, made many complaints against the indecency of actors, at last referred it to the Senate to deliberate about taking some steps to prevent their immodest behavior—and particularly about the low buffoonery of one Oscan, who did much mischief.—It was, says he, agreed to expel all players from Italy. And Suetonius, who seems to say, chapter 37, that they caused riots, says also, that Tiberius would never after permit them to return.—Chapter 15, he says, that L. Capito, procurator of Asia, was, by the people of his province, (which, it should be observed was imperial,) accused of having oppressed them, and was, by the permission of Tiberius, tried by the Senate, (who had even then, as both Tacitus, in this same chapter, and Suetonius, iii. 33, say, the cognizance of all things,) and was, after a fair hearing, by them condemned to be banished—for which act of justice, continues he, and for a similar one, the year before, on C. Silanus, for embezzling money while procurator of Asia, the states of that country desired permission to erect a temple to Tiberius, to his mother, and to the Senate.—A strong proof how very few, even of his cotemporaries, as Dion remarks, considered him as insane—and—as strong a proof that as few of them considered him as irreligious—though Dion did, and the present race of scavans, still do.

These are the instances of the just government of Tiberius, which he has recorded as having taken place in the end of the 9th year—or—the beginning of the 10th.—Consequently why should we not think that he seems to have contradicted himself, very little less than Dion.

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Let us now proceed to enquire whether he has recorded any such like instances among the transactions of the 10th year.

Chap. 29, 30, he says, that Vibius Serenus, an exile at Amorgos, (one of the Cyclades) who had, eight years before, on the death of Libo, (who had endeavored to excite a rebellion, and who, to evade a public punishment, had starved himself,) been banished, was, in the 10th year of Tiberius, accused, and by his own son, of a plot against the government and life of Cæsar—and—moreover that Carnutus, a prætor, was also accused of having engaged to supply Serenus with money for the above purpose. And what was the sentence of those two conspirators? scil.—Carnutus, before sentence was passed, destroyed himself, which, surely, seems to imply guilt. And what was the sentence of Serenus—scil.—he was sent back to Amorgos.—Chapter 31, he mentions three instances more of the upright conduct of Tiberius, as a monarch. He says, first, that C. Cominius, a knight, was accused of having written an opprobrious poem on Tiberius—that he was tried for it, by the Senate, and convicted. And what punishment was inflicted on him?—Tiberius, he says, forgave him, and, at the intercession of his brother who was a senator.—He says, secondly, in the same chapter, that P. Suilius, a quæstor, was, in the same year, convicted of having received a bribe, as judge, and banished.* Lastly—Catus Firmius, a senator, was, says he, convicted of having brought a false accusation of treason against his own sister—and, by the permission of Cæsar, was expelled the Senate.—Chapter 32, he complains that he was aware how uninteresting his history must appear to most of his readers

* Under Tiberius, says Philo in Flac. p. 758, some præfects, who had been oppressive to their subjects, were, on their return to Rome, punished for it, and especially when complaints were made against them by the injured persons.—This subjoins he, p. 759, made them very careful to administer justice to all.

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—that he had no external events to record, and as to internal, they were by no means so remarkable, as those of former times—that every thing (notwithstanding Tiberius was so cruel, and had introduced the most grievous pest, and had encouraged Hispo,) moved smoothly.—Of course, if things moved so smoothly, in the beginning of the 10th year, how can we be expected to believe that either he or his deputies began to be cruel in the beginning of the second or in that of the 9th? In the next chapter, 33, he complains again that so far were internal things from moving smoothly, that he had nothing to do but to make a chain of cruel mandates, continued accusations, false friendships, the destruction of innocent persons, and such like events—of course, why should we not suppose that this change took place, not in the 9th, but in the beginning of the 10th?—And, why should we not expect to find, that the sequel contains nothing else besides a continuation of such like occurrences—at least for the following year—for after that, it seems, he was forced from his seat of government either by his mother, or the cunning of Sejanus.—And yet if he, as Tacitus says, had, from the death of his son, to that of his mother, as many good qualities as bad—and retired from Rome in order to conceal his bad qualities—that is—as he says, chapter 57, his cruelty (meaning, surely, if he was obliged to give way to his mother, not his political cruelty,) and lust, we cannot suppose that Tacitus knew enough of his vices, which he took so much care to conceal, to be able to retail the particulars. Indeed, he, on the contrary, avoids giving us a continued account of those cruel mandates, &c. and takes care to furnish us with many anecdotes of his good deeds, and even two or three most remarkable ones, and, it may be remarked, even after he went to Capreæ. Chapter 37, 38, he tells us how nobly he behaved when deputies from further Spain applied to the Senate, for leave to build a temple to him and to his mother, (which, of course, seems to imply that

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the people of Spain, as well as those of Asia, did not consider him as an inhuman monster, for surely the people of Spain did not worship the devil, but rather as being one of the best of men,) he, says Tacitus, went to the Senate and deprecated the project most earnestly, and ended his speech with those most remarkable words—*Proinde socios, cives, et Deos ipsos precor*: (which, surely, is no proof of his impiety,) *hos, ut mihi ad finem usque vitæ, quietam et intelligentem humani divinique juris mentem dunt*; *illos, ut quandocunque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus, facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur*—which refusal some, says Tacitus, attributed to *modesty*, many to *diffidence*, and a few to *degeneracy*—to the opinion of which last set, Tacitus himself seems to subscribe, by an observation or two of his own, which he subjoins—*Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere*—and—*nam contemptu famæ contemni virtutes*—*the former* of which seems to imply that Tacitus thought him still the best of men—and the *latter* that he suspected that he then began to despise fame, and, of course, the sincerity of what he then said in the Senate.—But if he had before encouraged the issuing of those cruel mandates, &c. why should any one have thought him the best of men?—Or—why should any one have thought of requesting permission of the Senate to erect a temple to him?—Chapter 57, he says, that (notwithstanding what most had said) he was inclined to suspect that the real cause of his retirement from Rome was to conceal his cruelty and lust, which he could not do at Rome.—But what occasion was there for endeavouring to conceal his cruelty, if he had issued cruel mandates, &c.?

This alone is sufficient to prove that Tacitus, like Dion, has contradicted himself with regard to the time when this supposed change in Tiberius took place.—But there are still other chapters in

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this book, to which we think it proper to refer on this point, which relate to transactions which, Suetonius says, iii. 40, took place after he went to Capreæ—they are 64 and 66.—In the 64th chapter, he mentions the fire on Mount Cœlius, which, he says, the populace imputed to his absence—*feralemque annum ferebant, et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentię*. Now, if Tiberius had been so very cruel, would the populace have thus regretted his departure? Or, would he have flown to their assistance? So, he says, he did—and received the thanks of all ranks for his beneficence—and for his being so great a favorite with the Gods as to be the means of stopping it? But would the Gods have shewn so particular a favor to so inhuman, so lewd a wretch? What an inconsiderate fool then must this prince of historians have been?—The last chapter, to which it seems not amiss to refer, on this matter, is the 66th—in which, after having again adverted to the beneficence of Tiberius, on the before mentioned occasion, he complains that the power of accusers grew stronger and more dangerous, without opposition, every day—that Varus Quinctilius, a relative of Cæsar, was, among others, attacked by Domitius Afer and Publius Dolabella his kinsman—that the Senate agreed to defer the matter till the emperor should return—because he was, for the time, the only suffuge from urging evils—*quod unum, urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat*.

From all that Tacitus has said in those several chapters, why should we not conclude that Tiberius, must have been, not cruel, but most humane, till after the fall of the Amphitheatre of Fidenæ—that is—as Suetonius says, till after his retirement? And why should we not also conclude from what he says, iv. 57, and v. 3, that he had it not in his power to do much harm before the death of his mother?—

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For, in the first mentioned chapter, he says, that tradition affirmed that he had been extruded from Rome by her impotency—and, in the last mentioned, he says, that while she was alive, neither he nor Sejanus could presume to counteract her will—but that after her death, their tyranny was excessive.—*Cæterum ex eo* (namely the death of his mother) *prærupta jam et urgens dominatio*: nam incolumi Augustâ, erat adhuc perfugium, *quia* Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium: neque Sejanus audebat auctoritati parentis anteire, *tunc* velut frænis exfoluti proruperunt.

Tacitus then, we find, not only contradicts the report of Dion concerning the time when this great change in the conduct of Tiberius took place, but also his own. Let us now then try to satisfy ourselves which of their reports Suetonius follows—and, in order to do this the more effectually, let us hear what he says of his conduct, from the fifth or sixth year of his monarchy, till that in which he retired to Capreæ.

Chapter 26, he begins with saying, that when Tiberius was, on the death of Libo, and not as Dion says, on that of Germanicus, released from the fear of competitors, he, at first, behaved, not like a hypocrite who had been released from restraint, but with the greatest civility and almost like a private person.—*Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paullo minus quam privatum egit.* And when many of the greatest honors were voted him, he would accept but few, and those of the least value.—*Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus, præter paucos et modicos non recepit.*—Suetonius then proceeds to mention several instances of the honors which he refused. *In the 27th chapter*, Suetonius mentions several instances of his antipathy to adulation. *In the 28th*, he gives us two or three most striking instances of his regard for civil liberty—or rather of his tole-

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ration of the abuse of it. *In the 29th*, he says, that the manner in which he accosted persons, of every description, almost exceeded humanity—and, of this too he gives an instance or two. *In the 30th*, he says, that he referred all cases to the Senate, however trifling or important, whether relating to public or to his own private matters, to the army, or to foreign affairs: and he concludes it with this remarkable instance of his confidence in the members of it—"he never
 "but once entered the Senate with any attendant—and that was when
 "he was so unwell as to be unable to go without assistance—and, then
 "no sooner had he entered, than he dismissed the very few that were
 "with him."—*Nunquam curiam intravit nisi solus: lecticâ quondam introlatus æger, comites a se removit.* *In the 31st*, he gives several instances of motions that were carried against him in the Senate. At which, says Suetonius, he shewed no sort of displeasure. On one of those occasions, he observes, that when a division took place, he went over to the minority and not a single senator followed.—This chapter too he concludes with an account of the very condescending manner in which he received foreign ambassadors, some of whom, it seems, the consuls took the liberty of sending for and opening their credentials. *In the 32d chapter*, he mentions several instances more of his condescension both with regard to the Senate and to private individuals of every class—that with regard to the Senate is of so remarkable a nature that it must not be overlooked, and because it seems to be a pretty complete refutation of those who entertain doubts of the acta Pilati. It is this—*Corripuit consulares exercitibus præpositos, quod non de rebus gestis Senatui scriberent*—this he says in the beginning of this chapter—and he concludes it with as remarkable an instance of the protection which he (as Tacitus, we have seen, also notices)

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afforded the provinces—viz—when the præfects of provinces advised him to augment his tributes—his reply was—a good shepherd would not think of flaying his sheep—*Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.* Of this reply, it may not be amiss to observe, both Josephus and Dion take notice. Lastly—in the 33^d chapter, he begins with telling us, not as Tacitus does, iv. 1, that his administration was, in the ninth year of his reign, all at once deteriorated—*cum repente turbare fortuna cœpit: sævire ipse aut sævientibus vires præbere*—but, on the contrary, that he acted the prince very gradually, and for a long time variously, and he might, it seems, have added, till his secession, for in all that interval he does not produce a single instance of tyranny.—But let us attend to the whole of this chapter, as it appears to afford some curious information.

Paulatim Principem exercuit, præstititque—by which it appears that, for a long time, he did not assume the prince—and, that when he began to put on the real prince, he only did it by degrees—and, so it appears, by what follows—viz—*etsi varium diu commodiorem tamen sæpius, et ad publicas utilitates proniorem.* By which it appears that when he did begin to act the prince, he was, *for a long time*, rather a good than a bad one.—So he seems to say, by what he again subjoins—viz—*Ac primo eatenus interveniebat ne quid perperam fieret.* And what did he do better than this before he began to be a bad prince? *Itaque et constitutiones quasdam Senatus rescidit.* What? Did he *therefore* rescind certain degrees of the Senate, because they were confessedly wrong?—And is this any instance of his variety? Is it not rather of that of the Senate?—*Et, continues he, Magistratibus, pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium, affidebatque missim, vel ex adverso in parte primori:*—a pretty strong proof that he was not, as Tacitus says, iv. 57, ashamed to be seen—and that he was still only anxious that strict justice should be

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administered—as appears more clearly by what he says in the sequel—viz—et, si quem reorum gratiâ elabi rumor esset, subitus aderat, iudicesque aut e plano, aut e quæstoris tribunali, legum et religionis, et noxæ de quâ cognoscerent admonebat. And then he concludes the chapter with an instance of his concern for public morals—viz—atque etiam si quæ publicis moribus defidiâ aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit—which, Tacitus observes, i. 54, he did not dare to attempt to correct in the beginning of his reign.—*In the 34th chap.* he mentions some instances of his attention to public manners and public expences—and in the conclusion of it records an instance of the great respect which the people were inclined to shew him.—*In the 35th chapter*, he mentions several instances of his attention to the private morals of individuals of every rank, both male and female. *In the 36th chapter*, he mentions two or three instances of his concern for the tranquillity of Rome by expelling several religious sects who were supposed to entertain opinions hostile to those of the Romans.—Lastly, *in the 37th chap.*, he tells us how careful he was to preserve the peace of the public—by stationing the military all over Italy in more numerous parties than usual—and by collecting the prætorian guards at Rome—which, we are told by Dion, l. 57, p. 619, D., he did in the 10th or 11th year of his reign—how he punished some popular tumults most grievously—and took care to prevent them for the future—how he banished some for making a riot in the theatre—and imprisoned others for life for having made a disturbance at Pollentia.—In the same chapter, he also tells us how he abolished all the asyls in the empire—and how he suppressed, by his legates, some *hostile commotions*—and that he never after undertook any expedition.

This is the account which Suetonius gives us in those 12 chapters of the monarchical character of Tiberius, till very near the time of his secession. Suetonius then, we find, does not give us the least

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encouragement to think that this supposed change, in the moral habits of Tiberius, happened in the 5th year of his reign, after the death of Germanicus, though it, as Dion says, caused so great an astonishment, nor, in the 9th, when he first employed Sejanus as his prime minister, on the contrary, he, we have seen, gives us a most excellent account of the former part of his reign, till, at least, the time when he collected all the prætorian troops at Rome, if not till after he lost his son, and went into Campania. He expressly says, chapter 42, that he became totally vicious, not before he went to Capreæ, nor before the disaster at Fidenæ—but after that event—and not after the death of Sejanus, as Tacitus intimates, but before that event, when he was about 70 years of age.—*Cæterum secreti licentiam nactus, et quasi civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta simul vitia male diu diffimulata tandem profudit.* Suetonius moreover says, chapter 61, that, *after* Tiberius became so totally vicious he also became cruel.—*Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit, nunquam deficiente materiâ:* but against whom principally did he exercise his vengeance?—*scil—cum primo matris, deinde nepotum et nurus, postremo Sejani familiares atque etiam notos persequeretur. Post cujus interitum vel sævissimus exstitit.*

On reconsidering all that those writers say of this surprising change in the habits of Tiberius, what do we find but self-contradictions and contradictions of each other? And, so many, that we seem to have reason enough to doubt whether any such change took place in him at all.

Tacitus says, vi. 30, that accusers were, when opportunity offered, punished.—And that Tiberius would not attempt to molest Lentulus Gætulicus, though a relative of Sejanus, because he was aware that his government stood by *fame rather than by force*—*magisque famâ*

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quam vi, stare res suas. And again, 45, that when a great part of Rome was destroyed, in the last year of his reign, he, once more, obtained, from all ranks of people, the greatest honors for his beneficence to the sufferers.

Dion, besides saying, as we have seen, that Tiberius had very many if not most virtues to the last, says also, l. 58, p. 633, A., that he did not attempt to molest Sejanus the prætor, though he had, the year after the death of his brother, dared to insult him publicly. And in the end of the next page, he says, that Tiberius, in the following year, commanded all the most active of the accusers to be put to death in one day. Now if Tiberius had been so cruel a tyrant would L. Sejanus have dared to insult him publicly, and, but the year after the death of his brother.

Josephus, A. xvii, gives the fullest account of any, of the manner in which he spent three or four of his last years at Capreæ. And though he says that he was fond of detaining accused persons a long while in prison, yet he says nothing of his extreme viciousness.

Juvenal describes his residence at Capreæ as remarkable only for his inactivity, and his inattention to business, and his being surrounded by a party of Chaldæans—he likewise says nothing of his extreme viciousness.

Paterculus, who served under him nine successive years, and wrote the history of the first sixteen years of his reign, and addressed it to one of the then consuls, says, ii. 126, that he was the most excellent, in every respect, of all princes. So admirable, indeed, is the description which he gives of his reign during that period, that it has been considered by the conductors of one of our principal seminaries of classic learning as merely adulatory, though both Tacitus and Sueton-

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nus say nearly the same of him—the former, iv. 6, in the ninth year of his reign, and the latter in the 12 chapters above referred to, no one knows how much later.

Valerius Maximus, who wrote after the death of Sejanus, and dedicated his work, which is all through of a religious and moral tendency, to Tiberius, addresses him, in the preface, as the patron of virtue and the enemy of vice—*cujus cælesti providentiâ, virtutes de quibus dicturus sum benignissime foventur: vitia severissime vindicantur.*—And, ix. 11, he says, both the Gods and men were, as soon as they knew of the treachery of Sejanus, ready to crush him. *Itaque, says he, stat pax, valent leges, sincerus privati ac publici officii tenor servatur*—which, surely, seems to imply that such had been the state of things before.

Seneca, the elder, finds not the least fault with the conduct of Tiberius in any part of his works. On the contrary, he, in one or two places, speaks of him as a pattern of filial piety, of patiently enduring the greatest afflictions, and, as being one of the greatest of men, on whom nature had bestowed more good qualities than he could easily enumerate. In his *Consol. ad Marc.* (for most certainly that *Consol.* was written by him, and not, as Lipsius says, by his son, nor, as he also says, after the death of Tiberius, but just before that of Livia, when his son was not arrived at manhood,) he proposes the example of the most eminent men to her, and last of all, that of *Tiberius*, not as delighting in human misery, (for, it seems, by what he says, chapter xix, that at that time Marcia had not witnessed any public calamity,) but of patient fortitude under the loss of relatives.—*Tiberius Cæsar, et quem genuerat, et quem adoptaverat, amisit: ipse tamen pro rostris laudavit filium, stetitque in conspectu posito corpore, interjecto tantummodo velamento, quod pontificis oculos a*

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funere arceret, et, fiente populo romano, non flexit vultum: experiendum se dedit Sejano, ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere. Videsne quanta copia virorum maximorum sit, quos non exceperit hic omnia prosterbens casus? In quos tot animi bona, tot ornamenta publice privatimque congesta erant? Thus Seneca, the elder, speaks of Tiberius, even to Marcia—of Sejanus, he, in the same work, speaks of his having caused Cordus, her father, to be persecuted, not for extolling, as Tacitus says, Brutus and Cassius as the last of Romans, but for speaking disrespectfully of himself, and as having fed his dogs with *human blood*: but though he speaks thus of him, yet he does not say that Tiberius was the cause of it—or, that he was the cause of that vast power of Sejanus, he says, that Sejanus had usurped it—Sejanum in cervices nostros nec imponi quidem sed ascendere.

SENECA, the younger, too, though he, De Benef, l. iii, 26, speaks of the infamous practice of accusing—yet he does not say that Tiberius encouraged it. He too, on the contrary, says, that Sejanus, was the onfetter—and, Ep. xxi, that Tiberius was great while he lived—and, Apocol., that he followed Augustus to the mansion of the Gods.

PHILO, ad C. p. 783, demands of the Egyptians, who had been the worshippers of Caius, why they had not worshipped Tiberius, the predecessor of Caius, who, during the whole course of his monarchy, had enjoyed such a peace as had never before been known, (the several blessings and extent of which he enumerates p. 769.) Was it, says he, because Tiberius was inferior in erudition? Who, replies he, among all the celebrated geniuses of his time—των κατ' αὐτον ακμησαντων—was more prudent or more rational—λογικωτερος.—Was it, says he, because Tiberius was, in years, inferior to Caius?—What king or emperor grew old more honorably?—Even in his youth, he was, says

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he, for his discernment called *the sage*—and yet, subjoins Philo, this so great and so excellent a prince has been neglected by you. And, afterwards, in the same work, p. 799, Philo, represents Agrippa, who resided at Capreæ with Tiberius during the last three years of his life, and who was imprisoned by Tiberius, as speaking of the conduct of Tiberius towards the Jews, even to Caius, as having been but a continuation of that of Augustus.

CLEMENS, of Rome, too, who, in several of his works, says, that he was related to Tiberius, says also, *Recog. x. 55*, and again, in his account of the proceedings of Peter, 135, that he, after the Gospel had been preached to Gentiles, made, both at Rome and in the provinces; inquisition for the maleficent, for the purpose of punishing them, even with death—and that he ordered Simon, the adversary of the Apostles, to be apprehended. And, *de G. P. 143*, he even says, that this same unfeeling tyrant, shed tears abundantly—*θερμῶς ἐκλάκει*—at seeing again Faustus and Mathilda.

The character of Tiberius then was, by the account of even Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion, most excellent till he was 56 years old, and his government was, by the evidence of the same writers, also, most excellent for many years of his monarchy, and though they say, that it was intolerably bad afterwards, yet they cannot agree about the time when it began to be so very bad. Suetonius says, that it was not extremely bad for a long time—that is—till he went to Capreæ. And Tacitus says, vi, that it was a mixture of good and bad while his mother lived—that it stood almost to the last by fame rather than by force. And Dion says, l. 58, that it always had a great mixture of good. But by the account of those who lived under it, not only Romans, and the best of Romans, but Jews, and Christians, it was always most excellent.

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Now as so many and so very respectable cotemporary writers, of different religions, declare, with one consent, that the whole reign of Tiberius, was so very excellent—and even Tacitus says, that his government, in the 21st year of his reign, stood more by fame than by force ;—and—that he was, but about six months before he died, thanked, by all ranks of people, for his beneficence to the sufferers by fire at Rome ;—and, as Suetonius too, says, that he was buried most magnificently, at the public expence, and praised by Caius with many tears—how can any one expect to be believed who dares to assert that the consuls, in any succeeding reign, considered him as unworthy of a place in the line of Roman emperors? And yet Dion, we find, l. 59, p. 646, C., dared to assert it—and moreover, l. 60, p. 667, D., that he continued to be considered so from the first of Caius, u. c. 791, till his own time. The evidence of the Senecas alone would, one would think, have kept him from asserting it—or—that of Suetonius concerning Caius and Claudius—for of the former, he says, 30, that he vindicated the cruelty of Tiberius to the Senate, on the score that they were the cause of it—and of the latter, he says, v. 11, that he erected the marble arch near Pompey's Theatre, which the Senate had, on some great occasion, voted to him.

 CHAPTER VII.

Why Tiberius left Rome, and why he went to Capreæ.

TIBERIUS, we are told by Tacitus, iv. 57, went, in the consulship of Cn. Lentulus and C. Calvisius, and in the 12th year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age, (which, Tacitus observes, iii 59, was acknowledged, four years before, to have been less qualified for business than it had been,) from Rome into Campania, for, as both he and Suetonius say, the pretended purpose of dedicating two temples, the one at Capuâ; and the other at Nola, but as Tacitus alone says, with a long formed design of living at a distance from Rome.—*Inter quæ diu meditato, prolatoque sæpius consilio, tandem, &c.; sed certus procul ab urbe degere.*—This, it may not be amiss to observe, Tacitus says, was the second time he went from Rome into Campania, and, with the same design.—He, says Tacitus, A. iii. 31, went thither about five years before—viz—in the beginning of u. c. 774, when he and his son Drusus were consuls—by degrees meditating a long and continued absence—*longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditant.*—At that time, he remained there till the following year, when his mother was taken suddenly ill, and, he was obliged to return in

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haste.—The reason of his going into Campania this first time, was, says Tacitus, not to leave Rome for ever, (though, he says, he then had it in contemplation,) but either to re-establish his health, or, to leave the management of affairs to Drusus. But can either of those reasons have been the right one?—Had Tiberius then been ill?—Suetonius says, iii. 68, that he was always most remarkably well—*Valetudine prosperrimâ usus est*—and especially after he became emperor—*tempore quidem principatus, pene toto, prope illæsa*.—And, as to the other reason, does not Tacitus himself say, that Drusus was, in that year, extremely ill?—And, that Tiberius, though worn out with age, was obliged to give, as usual, directions about every thing—especially about the revolt in Africa, under Tacfarinas, and that in Gaul, under Sacrovir, and that in Belguim, under Julius Florus.—And does he not say, c. 44, that Tiberius was blamed, by discontented persons, for permitting accusers to occupy all his attention, when affairs of such moment demanded it most imperiously?—*Increpabantque Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu, libellis accusatorum infumeret operam*.—And does he not again say, c. 52, 56, that Tiberius was, in the following year, when every thing was quiet, and a law was proposed to restrain luxurious living—and by the means of informers,* consulted on that occasion—and—that he then obtained universal applause for having objected to the means of enforcing it—*Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentes accusatores represserat*.—Why then, all this considered, should we suppose that Tiberius left Rome, either for the sake of his health, or, to leave the management of public affairs to Drusus?

* How is it that Tacitus has given so different an account of the conduct of Tiberius towards accusers in so short a time?—Is it at all likely that any prince would, in the course of a year, be censured for encouraging informers, and applauded for discouraging them.

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Tiberius however, as Tacitus, we have seen, says, went into Campania both in the year 774 and 779 with the same fixed design—viz—to live continually at a distance from Rome—but if such was his intention, in the last mentioned year, where was the propriety of telling us that the astrologers foretold that he would never return? And if he had so long made up his mind on that point, where was the necessity of pretending that he was only going to dedicate temples?—And if he gave out that he was only going to Capua and Nola to dedicate temples, where was the necessity of publishing, as Tacitus says, iv. 67, an edict forbidding any one to come near him, and to place sentinels, here and there, on the road to keep off the people?—Had not the people of Campania seen enough of him, when he spent more than a year with them about four or five years before?

Tacitus, besides telling us, iii. 31, that such had been his fixed design several years before, and even the year before his mother was so alarmingly ill—and, iv. 58, that he was, eleven years, voluntarily absent from Rome, and, iii. 59, that his age was, four years before, worn out with labour.—Besides telling us all this, Tacitus who, it seems, was neither satisfied with the reason assigned by *most writers* for his leaving Rome and continuing to remove from place to place in Campania, for about two years, and then retiring to Capreæ, and residing in solitude nine years more—nor with that assigned by *general tradition*—nor with that assigned by *the few*—(for they all seem to have thought that the same motive which determined him to take the first step, also determined him to take the other,)—sets himself, A. iv. 57, to assign the real motive which, he flatters himself, may have been this—viz—to conceal his cruelty and lust—*sævitiâ ac libidinem*.—But though this may have been the reason of his secession to Capreæ, is it likely to have been that for his traversing Campania

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so long?—And in company with so many men of learning?—Could he, during his peregrination in Campania, have concealed either of those vices?—What occasion had he, who, ten years before, had introduced the gravissimum exitium into Rome, who had then been publicly satyrized for his cruelty, and who had, two years before, issued cruel mandates—*sæva jussa*—to conceal his cruelty?—And by what lust could a man, who had been twice married and had grandchildren, be supposed to have been actuated?—Does not the former part of this double insinuation seem to militate against the latter?—If he was so cruel a tyrant, would he, at the age of 70, have been ashamed of his vices?—Was he not, as Tacitus himself says, iii. 10, valid in despising rumors—*Contra Tiberium spernandis rumoribus validum*.—And was he not, as he again says, vi. 38, a despiser of his own infamy—*Contemptor suæ infamiæ*? Not only Tacitus says so, but Suetonius and Dion too. Suetonius, in two places—viz—iii. 28, 66.—In the first mentioned chapter, he says—*Sed adversus convitia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens subinde jactabat*—*In civitate liberâ linguam mentemque liberâ esse debere*.—In the other, he says—*nonnunquam eadem contemneret, et proferret ultro atque vulgaret*.—Dion, l. 57, p. 618, says the same as Suetonius does in the chapter last quoted—and, l. 58, p. 633, B., he says, that Sejanus, the prætor, had the audacity, after the death of his brother, to expose the baldness of Tiberius, and that he took no notice of it.—If he was so vicious why did the Romans persist in worshipping him, in spite of his edict to the contrary?—Suetonius, we have seen, in the last chap., says, c. 42, that he was not notoriously vicious before he went to Capreæ, but, after the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ—that is—after he became a Christian.—And coteremporary writers, Jews, Romans, and Christians, we have also seen, in the same chapter, say that he never was vicious.

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But as the reason assigned by Tacitus as being, in his opinion, preferable to either of the others, is not at all likely to have been the true reason.—Let us proceed to examine the other three which he rejects, for the purpose of satisfying ourselves whether any of them be so probable as to render all enquiry on this subject useless.

First, he says, that *most authors* had left it on record, that Tiberius had been prevailed on to leave Rome by the artifice of Sejanus, and, in order that he might be able to get the management of the government into his own hands—the credibility of which report he himself combats, and with the greatest success, by observing that Tiberius continued a voluntary exile six years after he had caused Sejanus to be put to death.—This single objection he thought quite sufficient to set aside the report of most of his biographical predecessors.—But this objection is not the only one which he makes to their report, nor the least forcible.—He, both before and after this chapter, has, without intending it, furnished us with several others equally good.—A. iii. 31, he, we have seen, says, that Tiberius had, while his son Drusus was alive, and two or three years before he thought of employing Sejanus, by degrees meditated a long and continued absence.—In the first chap. of this same book, he says, that Sejanus was no match for Tiberius in craft, or, rather he should have said, in wisdom, or, the right application of knowledge—non tam solertiâ (quippe iisdem artibus victus erat.)—In the 39th and 40th he relates a remarkable instance of it—he there says, that Tiberius, but the year before he left Rome, on being solicited by Sejanus to grant him permission to marry Livilla, the widow of his deceased son, contrived, in the most exquisite and delicate manner, to evade his request, and to convince him of the vanity and absurdity of his pretensions.—In the 58th chapter, he says, that Tiberius, when he left Rome, took Sejanus with him as one of

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his chosen companions, and detained him all the while he was in Campania—and that he also took him to Capreæ, where he also detained him so long, that the Senate, at last, found themselves obliged, notwithstanding the mother of Tiberius was then alive, to petition, both of them, repeatedly, to return—and, finding all their petitions disregarded, they thought it necessary for them to go, in a body, to the very coast of Campania, to intreat them to return, if not, merely to get a sight of them.—Which, surely, seems to imply not only that Sejanus, though, by supposition, the director of every thing, would not go near them, but that Tiberius, as well as Sejanus, was considered, by the Senate, as not less the director of every thing—and—that he also would not go to Rome.—Which, surely, seems to imply further that something of no common import must have then happened at Rome—and, something, as Tacitus says, iv. 74, like a most extraordinary commotion.—And what, but the preaching of Christ, could have then happened to cause such distraction?

Other writers confirm what Tacitus here says of this matter.

Philo says, that Tiberius, a little before the death of Sejanus, at his instigation, or—as Josephus says, at the complaint of Saturninus, against the pretended doctors, expelled the Jews from Rome.

Suetonius says, of Tiberius, iii. 66, that he, kept Sejanus at Capreæ till just before he was consul, and that he at last effected his subversion (who, he had before said chapter 55, was one of his privy counsellors,) by artifice and cunning—*astu et dolo subvertit*—and that several others of his privy counsellors were then surviving.

Dion says, l. 58, p. 621, D. that Tiberius was praised, in the 15th year of his reign, for not neglecting public business—*καταπερ τον Τίβεριο*,

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ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΕΩΣ ΕΔΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΕΣΧΕΤΟ.—And, again, in the next page, C., that many deputies were, in the next year, sent, by the Senate, to him, and, among the rest, Gallus.—And, again, l. 59, p. 643, C., that he would never suffer others to govern him in the same manner as Caius did.—ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΗΡΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΕ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΗ ΒΕΛΛΗΜΑ ΕΧΡΗΤΟ.

Paterculus says, ii. 127, 128, that Sejanus was, till the xvi year of Tiberius, nothing more than an assistant.—C. 127, he says—singularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet. C. 128, he says—ad juvanda vero onera principis, Sejanum protulit. Paterculus also describes him as being, at that time, very faithful and unassuming—ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum—nihil sibi vindicantem.

Josephus says, A. xviii. 4, δ, that Tiberius, in that year, gave orders for every thing.

V. Maximus says, ix. 11, that Sejanus attempted to take the reins of government from Tiberius by force—Tu videlicet efferatæ barbariæ immanitate truculentior habenas romani imperii, quas princeps, parensque noster salutari dexterâ continet, capere potuisti?

Seneca, Consol. ad Marciam xxii, seems to intimate the same thing—Sejanum in cervices nostros nec imponi quidem sed ascendere.

Now as cotemporary and latter writers, friends and foes, with one consent, tell us that Tiberius did not omit to transact public business while at Capreæ, why does Tacitus, so confidently tell us that most writers had left it on record that Tiberius had been prevailed on by Sejanus to leave Rome and the management of every thing to him.

Another reason which, Tacitus says, *some persons* assigned for his retirement was, a *consciousness* of his personal defects—Erant qui cre-

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derent in senectute quoque corporis habitum pudori fuisse—quippe, says he, (and it particularly deserves to be noticed, because it seems to intimate that he admitted that it might, after all, be the true reason)—prægrandis illi et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies et plerumque medicaminibus interstincta.—And, as a sort of proof, he adds—et Rhodi secreto, vitare cœtus, recondere voluptates infuerat.—But how is this at all reconcileable with what Paterculus and Suetonius say of him?—Paterculus says, ii. 94—Tiberius Claudius Nero juvenis genere, formâ, celsitudine corporis instructissimus.—Again, chapter 97, he says—Nam pulchritudo corporis (Drusi. scil.) proxima fraternæ.—Suetonius, we find, agrees with Paterculus on this point, and, chap. 68, describes his person, so particularly, that any one may fancy his figure to have been very majestic—Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto: staturâ quæ justam excederet.—Latus ab humeris et pectore: cæteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes æqualis et congruens, &c.—And is this a form for any man of 70, who had never experienced any ill health, to be ashamed of?—Suetonius says this of his person—he next proceeds to describe his countenance and his features—Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium summissiore, ut cervicem etiam obtegeret: quod gentile in illo videbatur.—Facie honestâ, in qua tamen crebri et subtiles tumores cum prægrandibus oculis, &c.—Lastly, he speaks of his mien and manner of conversation—Incedebat cervice rigidâ et obstipâ et adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus.

Such is the account which Paterculus and Suetonius give of the person of this most excellent monarch.—How different from that of Tacitus.

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But had his personal defects been as remarkable, as Tacitus would have it thought, yet why should we be expected to believe that any veteran despot, and especially one who was so cruel as Tacitus represents this to have been, would have been so fond of concealing them from the eye of the world as to leave the seat of his government for that purpose?—Does not his public appearance in Campania, at least, at the dedication of the temples, in two of the most populous towns in that district, shew the futility of that supposition?—Had the people of Rome the least suspicion that such was his motive, would they, either when the Amphitheatre, at Fidenæ, fell, or when a great part of Rome was burnt, have importuned him to return, and, as Suetonius says, from Capreæ?—And would he, if that had been the case, have so readily returned to assist the sufferers, and have made himself so very accessible to people of all ranks?—Or would the Senate, &c. have presumed to request him to return to Rome—and, to go to the coast of Campania, for the purpose of importuning him to favor them with an interview?—This however Tacitus himself says, iv. 74, they did.—Dion also says, that A. Gallus, the year after, desired to be one of the delegates whom the Senate sent to him. Juvenal speaks of his being surrounded by a company of Chaldæans.—Josephus says, that Agrippa spent two or three years with him at Capreæ, and that he went to Tusculanum.—And lastly, Suetonius says, chapter 72, that he was, just before his death, present at the military sports at Circeii, and, in the same chapter, that he used to see much company.

The *last* reason which Tacitus says was assigned for his leaving Rome, is this—that he could not bear the thought of his mother's usurping a paramount authority in the direction of public affairs, and, that he could not make her desist—*nec depellere pote-*

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rat.*—This, Tacitus observes, he had by *tradition*—that is—by common report.—But how is it that common report appears to have contradicted that of most writers?—*Most records*, Tacitus, we have seen, informs us, said that the cause of his retirement was the artifice of Sejanus.—And now he says, that *tradition* said that the cause of it was the intolerable arrogance of his mother, whose age was, as he himself observed of it, iv. 8, three or four years before, extreme—that is—as Dion says, l. 58, p. 621, C., at the time when her son retired, 83.—If this last be the true cause, the first cannot have been the true cause, for this reason as well as for that before assigned by him—viz—that Tiberius remained at Capreæ six years after the death of Sejanus—unless he would have us to think that Sejanus could do no more under Livia, than he could under Tiberius, which, surely, would seem to imply that there was no great occasion for contriving to get Tiberius out of the way—that he, however, could do no more under Livia than under Tiberius—he, we find, v. 4, denies—for he there says—*Neque Sejanus audebat auctoritati parentis antea*.—And this respectful distance, he, we find, says, Sejanus observed till the death of Livia, or two years after Tiberius seceded.

But let us examine this last reason which Tacitus says tradition assigned for the secession of Tiberius, independently of the channel through which he derived it.

* Dion who, l. 57, p. 610, B., admits that tradition, said that Tiberius retired to Capreæ, on account of some disagreement with his mother, then, at least, 84, is so far from saying that she directed every thing, that he, immediately before, says, that Tiberius would not suffer her to do any one thing—*καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων πανταπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάξεν*.—And, l. 58, p. 621, D., he says—*καὶ περ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐπαινεσάντες, οὐ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως ἔδε τότε ἀπεσχέτο*.

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Did not Tacitus see that the only argument which he produced against the supposition that Sejanus contrived to get Tiberius out of the way, is, when applied to the present case, a little more forcible? If his continuance at Capreæ more than five years after the death of Sejanus be any thing like a proof that Sejanus was not the cause of his retiring, why should not his continuance there more than nine years after the death of his mother be considered as something like a stronger proof that he did not remove from Rome on her account?—This consideration Tacitus has unaccountably contrived to overlook.—That Tacitus himself could not have believed this pretended tradition is very clear from what he says of the occurrences which happened during the two or three years between his secession and the death of his mother.—For, first he says, that the people of Rome complained in their distress of his having left them—*feralemque annum ferebant, et omnibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae*—which, surely, seems to imply that the secession of Tiberius was voluntary—as Tacitus himself asserts, iv. 58—*libens patriâ careret*—though, by the remark which he subjoins, he himself seems to have thought that it was merely accidental.—He also says, that both the Senate and people thanked him for his beneficence on that occasion.—Again, he tells us, that the Senate, in the case of Varus, did not think of consulting Livia how to proceed, but agreed to wait the return of Tiberius—and, because he was, the *only* suffuge, for the time, from the impending evils.—Again, he complains of his not having paid the least attention to the revolt of the Frisii, which, surely, implies that he considered him as still the director of military proceedings.—Lastly, he says, that the Senate petitioned him, again and again, to return, before they went, in a body, to wait on him, on the coast of Campania, for the purpose of requesting an interview.

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In short—from what Tacitus says of this matter, it appears almost incredible that there could have been such a tradition.

Let us now proceed to enquire what Suetonius says was the cause of his retiring from Rome.

He, chapter 39, says, positively, that the cause of his going into Campania was the loss of his sons—*Sed orbatus utroque filio secessum Campaniæ petiit.*—The last of whom—viz—Drusus, it should be observed, died three years before, and therefore some may be inclined to think it strange that his grief for the loss of him should have continued so long: but to those who know what Josephus says, of his grief for the loss of his son, it cannot appear so.—Again, he says, 51, not as Tacitus does, that it was generally thought that his disagreement with his superannuated mother was the chief cause of it, but, that *some* might think so—*ut quidam putent inter causas secessus hanc ei vel præcipuam fuisse*—but, if he grieved so much and so long for the loss of his only son, can it be likely that he would disagree with his superannuated mother?—But does he agree with Tacitus as to the cause of their disagreement?—By no means. So far is he from saying that Livia ever obtained such an ascendancy over her son, as to take from him the management of public concerns, that he, on the contrary, says, c. 50, that Tiberius permitted her to do scarcely any thing at all—and that he used to tell her often to mind her own concerns, and to leave state matters alone.—How then can Livia be supposed to have forced him, by her interference, to retire?—Would not any one be inclined to suppose from this that he managed every thing most arbitrarily, and that she had the greatest reason to retire?—Suetonius proceeds, in the next chapter, to point out the very instance, which, it was pretended—*ut ferunt*—caused the breach between them—*Dehinc ad simultatem usque processit, hac, ut ferunt, de causâ—*

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scil.—she wished to have a certain libertine made a judge, and, therefore, *often entreated* her son—inſtabat ſæpius—to grant her request—at laſt, he, on condition that a memorandum ſhould be entered in the roll, oppoſite the perſon's name, purporting that his mother had forced him to conſent, granted her request.—Whether it was accordingly done, Suetonius does not ſay—but this he ſays, that ſhe was ſo much offended at this reply, that ſhe inſtantly went to her cloſet and produced certain papers of Auguſtus, which ſhe had always kept concealed, complaining of his moroſeneſs and intolerance.—This, ſays Suetonius, he took ſo much amiſs, that, as ſome *may* think—ut quidam putent—it was the chief cauſe, not of Livia's retiring from court, but of his retiring from Rome.

So contradictory is the evidence of Tacitus and Suetonius concerning the interference of Livia in political matters.—Let us proceed to enquire with whom Patereulus ſeems to agree.

Patereulus, ii. 127, ſays, of the government of Tiberius till the 16th year of his reign, that Sejanus was and is the ſingular aſſiſtant of all his princely burdens—ſingularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet.—And of Livia he ſays, chapter 130—Cujus temporis ægritudinem auxit amiſſa mater eminentiſſima, et per omnia Deis quam hominibus, ſimilior femina; *cujus potentiam nemo ſenſit*, niſi aut levatione periculi aut acceſſione dignitatis.

In ſhort—to represent the greateſt general that ever commanded an army, who militated in almoſt every part of the empire, and who never ſuffered a defeat, who, when he ſucceeded Auguſtus, took care, as Tacitus ſays, i. 7, to have it underſtood that he was not indebted either to him or to his mother for his advancement, but only to the free choice of the Roman people, who, at the very beginning of his

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reign, refused her, as Tacitus says, i. 14, the honor of a single lictor, and afterwards the titles which the Senate voted her,* who, during twelve years, would not suffer her to interfere in any political matter, and when she only requested him to make a certain person a judge, would not, for a long time, consent, and then only on condition that—*extorted by Livia*—was entered in the margin of the roll opposite his name—to represent such an one as driven from the seat of his government, when he was near 70 years of age, by his mother, who was then not less than 84, is such a piece of absurdity, as could not be expected from any historian—not even from one who wrote for the sole purpose of calumniating the best of characters.

We have now paid due attention to each of those four reasons assigned by this, as he has been, by supposed scavans, styled, prince of historians, for the secession of this prince of princes, and we have found every one of them to be such as no honest historian would have thought of assigning.—The *first*, which, he himself says, *most writers* considered as the true one, he himself rejects, and, for a very good reason.—And the last which he mentions as traditional he therefore ought a fortiori to reject.—The *second* evidently consists of two contradictory parts.—And the *third* is flatly contradicted not only by Paternulus and Suetonius but even by Tacitus himself.

Let us then endeavour to discover a reason that has, at least, the appearance of a probability.

* If all this was true, why do we read of the following legend and inscription:—

Tristanus T. 1, p. 123, JULIA. AVGUSTA. GENETRIX. ORBIS.

Gruter. p. ccxxxiv. 2, JULIÆ. AVG. DIVI. F. MATRI. TI. CÆSARIS. AUG. PRINCIPIS. ET. CONSERVATORIS.

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Suetonius, we have observed, says, iii. 39, that after Tiberius had lost his two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, (and, he, it seems, might have said, as Tacitus has said, iv. 15, after he had also lost one of the twin sons of Drusus—and moreover, his old friends Lucilius Longus, Quirinus, and Cn. Lentulus—the former of whom died u. c. 776, Tib. 10, and the latter 778, Tib. 12,) he sought retirement in Campania.—Before he left Rome, he, as both of these historians say, published an *edict*, forbidding any one, as Tacitus says, to disturb his *quiet*—or, as Suetonius says, to *salute him*.—And he not only published an edict for the above mentioned purpose, but he, as they both say too, stationed guards* to prevent the people of the several towns through which he intended to pass from coming near him, which (by the bye) seems pretty clearly to intimate that he expected from them no little attention, notwithstanding the edict—if not that he was unwell, either in body or mind.—In body, Suetonius tells us, iii. 68, he never was unwell.—Was then his mind disordered?—If it was, what but grief for the loss of relatives and friends could have made him take this *peregrination*, for so Suetonius calls it.—And that it was so appears from what Tacitus says, iv. 58, of his attendants—viz—that they were few, and, that they were men of learning and selected for the sake of their conversation—*quorum sermonibus levaretur*—among whom, he says, was Cocceius Nerva, who, he also says, vi. 26, was the constant companion of the prince, and, well skilled in all law, human and *divine*—*continuus Principis, omnis divini humanique juris sciens*.—With this select learned party he used sometimes to amuse himself in grottos—neglecting to dedicate the temples till nearly the end of the following year—viz—780, or the beginning of his 14th

* If the people thought he was so very vicious and tyrannical, and, that he would die soon, what necessity could there have been either for the edict or for the guards to keep people from paying their respects to him?

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year.—In the course of which year of Rome three remarkable events, as Tacitus says, happened—viz—the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ—the fire on Mount Cœlius—and, the prosecution of V. Quinctilius, a relative of Cæsar.—But did those three events really happen before Tiberius went to Capreæ?—Does not Suetonius tell us expressly that the first of those events happened after he went thither?—And must not the other two of course?—However by what this writer says of his extremely kind behavior towards the distressed sufferers at Fidenæ—and, by what the other says, of the Senate having agreed to defer passing sentence on V. Quinctilius till he should return, his malady, whatever it was, seems, for the present, to have left him: but, says Tacitus, v. 4, and Paterculus, in the end of his history, a relapse soon followed, and his disorder was much worse than before.

Grief then for the loss of his only son and of two or three very old friends seems to have been the only cause of his retiring from Rome and remaining so long in Campania—that is—from the year 779 to nearly the end of 780, if not till 781, in which last mentioned year, he was 70, and Christ was, rather early in that year, first preached at Rome.—If then grief was his complaint, and it was, when the disaster at Fidenæ happened, so far abated that the Senate began to expect his return when V. Quinctilius, his kinsman, was accused, and in hopes that he would counteract the then enormously increasing prevalence of accusers, why did he, instead of returning, withdraw to Capreæ, and though requested, by the Senate, again and again, to return, in order to counteract the cause of the internal alarm, refuse to comply with their requests, and even to consent to an interview with them on the coast of Campania?—In that year, we have seen, Christ suffered, and, as Clemens, of Rome, says, in the spring of that year his faith

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began to be preached at Rome, and, as both Tacitus and Tertullian say, under the patronage of Tiberius, and, as the same two writers say, great opposition was made to it, and, of course to Tiberius, both by a majority of the Senate and of the people—how, then as all this happened in the course of the year 781, are we to be sure that Tiberius may not have retired for personal safety?—Of this, at least, we seem to be pretty well assured, and even by Tacitus, that Tiberius, who used, without any attendant, to enter the Senate, then, for the first time, complained to the fathers, by letter, that his life was in danger—that he suspected the plots of his enemies, and would not go, as usual, to the Senate, not even with a guard, nor be seen by them on the opposite coast, and, that some of them, from that time, took the liberty to speak disrespectfully of him, even in the Senate, and others, among whom were even condemned persons, used to write any thing, however scurrilous, against him, and to publish it in the most frequented places, and not only of all this do we seem to be assured, but of this also, that the practice of accusing persons, for what we know not, unless it were for not worshipping Tiberius, began then to be in fashion, and that Tiberius refused the honors voted, by the Senate, to his mother—*ni cœlestis religio decerneretur.*

How much more credible the preceding mode of accounting for his secession from Rome is, than either of those mentioned by Tacitus, must appear to every one.—And how much more credible this other mode of accounting for his retiring to Capreæ is, than that of Suetonius, may be made to appear from what Tacitus says of some of the events of the two following years—viz—781, 782 —A. iv. 68, he tells us how a scheme was laid, by four candidates for the consulship, and therefore, we presume, senatorials, to ensnare Titius Sabinus, a knight, who was notorious for his attachment to the family of Germanicus, and for his disaffection to Tiberius, and who had, three

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years before, been prosecuted by Sejanus, for the same offence, when his trial was, for some unknown reason, put off.—Chap. 69, he says, how one of them pretended to pity the family of Germanicus, and, by that means, got him to speak disrespectfully of Tiberius and Sejanus, while the others overheard every word that he said.—Of this they immediately sent off an account to Tiberius, who, it should be observed, is said, by all, to have disregarded such reports, and had, but the year before, been considered, by the Senate, as the only refuge in such hard cases, and was then at Capreæ, driven from the management of public affairs by Sejanus or his mother.—And, strange to relate, he also tells us, that, though Sabinus was then almost the only staunch friend of the family of Germanicus, inconceivable horror seized all ranks of people at Rome, as if the case of Sabinus, a knight, might be every man's own case:—"The city, says Tacitus, was never seized with greater dread; one neighbour accused another, so that reports, known and unknown, began to be avoided, nay even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occasioned dread and circumspection."—*Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens (agens?) adversum proximos, congressus, colloquia, notæ ignotæque aures (aurai?) vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.*—But if such were the accusers and such was their motive, and such the crime which they alledged against Sabinus—what reason had the commonalty of Rome to be alarmed lest a similar accusation might be brought against any of them?—Why should they have accused one another?—But did the Senate, on this evidence alone, proceed to pass sentence on Sabinus?—In the next chapter, 70, Tacitus proceeds to say, that Tiberius himself, magnanimous and benevolent, as he is said to have been, let loose some of the most corrupt of the libertines against Sabinus, then in prison—that Sabinus was tried

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before the Senate, condemned, and, contrary to the edict of Tiberius, immediately executed—and, as he was on the way to the place of execution, every body, through fear, fled from the sight—the streets and public places were deserted—and, that some of those who had fled, returned to their occupations again, afraid of being punished for having shewn signs of fear—quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga, vastitas: deferi itinera, fora: et quidam regrediebantur, ostentabantque se rursus, id ipsum paventes, quod timuissent.—And, lastly, Tacitus says, that Tiberius returned thanks to the Senate for having put to death a person *hostile to the state*.—Tiberius, though, as Tacitus himself says, v. 2, *habitually placid*, though, as Juvenal says, x. 75, *secure in his old age*, though, as Suetonius says, iii. 59, *happy in himself*, at the same time, says Tacitus, added—that his life was in danger—trepidam sibi vitam—and that he suspected the plots of his enemies—suspectas inimicorum infidias—no doubt, says he, meaning Agrippina and Nero.—And in this conjecture, he seems to be supported by Paterculus, ii. 130, who says—Quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote, dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est?—And immediately subjoins—Cujus temporis ægritudinem auxit amissa mater, &c.

This then is the strange account which Tacitus has given us, in those three chapters, of the accusation, trial, condemnation, and immediate execution of Titius Sabinus.—An account which is liable to various and great objections. Let us proceed to consider some of the chief.

Titius Sabinus had, three years before, says Tacitus, iv. 18, been attacked by Sejanus, for having been concerned with C. Suius, in endeavouring to raise a disturbance in favor of the family of Germanicus.—But though attacked, he was not, for some unaccountable reason, then tried—if he was then imprisoned, he appears to have been

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set at liberty again, and probably without security for his future good behaviour. Suilius, however, was tried, and fearing the issue, put an end to himself.—Sabinus, regardless of the lenity which he had, so lately experienced, permitted himself to be decoyed into a repetition of his offence, and, not only so, but an aggravation of it, by speaking against Tiberius, and, what is still more surprising, by one whom he could not but have known to be a creature of Sejanus—and, at a time too, when Tiberius was either driven from the seat of his government—or, obliged to retire by grief, and when he had, but the year before, or, it may have been but the same year, endeared himself to all ranks of people by his benevolence and beneficence on two most extraordinary occasions.—And who, does Tacitus say, were his accusers?—scil.—four candidates for the ensuing consulate, who, to obtain their object, took this step to ingratiate themselves, not with either Livia or Tiberius, but with Sejanus.—How four competitors, for an office that was discharged only by two, should have entered into such a conspiracy against Sabinus, Tacitus has forgot to tell us.—Certain it is, however, that not one of the four obtained the expected reward for his most disgraceful service.—On their information, Sabinus was, to the inconceivable consternation of the whole city, dragged away to prison—and an account of the whole proceeding was sent away to Tiberius, then at Capreæ.—Tiberius, then, as if the evidence of those senators might be suspected, contrived, after he was in prison, to set some of the freedmen against him, in order, it should seem, to do the work, which the others had begun under Sejanus, the more completely, and to crown the report, Tiberius, says Tacitus, demanded vengeance—*ultionemque haud obscure poscebat*—and, by so doing, prejudged the whole matter himself.—The Senate, in obedience to the demand of Tiberius, immediately proceeded to pass sentence on him, and, in

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defiance of his former edict, (made in a similar case six or seven years before, commanding them to allow the condemned persons ten days' respite,) immediately *executed* him—to the still greater consternation of all Rome.—Tiberius, continues he, returned thanks to the Senate, by letter, for having punished a man *hostile to the state*—but of the principals, Agrippa and Nero, he, says Tacitus, took no notice, at least, by name, though he suspected them of a design upon his life.

In this instance, then, we find that senators themselves sometimes became accusers, and even of the friends of the family of Germanicus, and, that the Senate, even in such a case, seconded their views, and were entirely subservient to the will of Tiberius and received his thanks for it—and, we also find, that the citizens were impressed with unspeakable abhorrence at the atrocity of the deed, supposing that the case of this knight might be that of every one amongst them.—But how could they have been fearful of this, unless they were conscious to themselves that they were all equally attached to the family of Germanicus, and Agrippina and Nero had then encouraged them to revolt—which surely would imply that they had too soon forgotten their late disasters at Fidenæ and at Rome. But how long did the Senate continue so subservient to the will of Tiberius—and—so opposite to the views of Agrippina?—And, why, as they were so very obsequious to his will, even in opposition to the hopes of Agrippina and Nero, should he have said that his life was in danger?—And that he was afraid of the plots of his enemies?—What plots or what enemies could he have meant?—How long had his enemies been plotting against him—and—how long did they continue to do so?

In the next chapter—viz—71, Tacitus proceeds to say, that Asinius Gallus, a brother-in-law of Agrippina, pretended to be so very ignorant of the persons meant by Tiberius, (though, as Tacitus says,

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every body else had no doubt that they were Agrippina and Nero,) that he proposed, in the Senate, to petition the prince to disclose the cause of his fear, and, in order to have it removed.—But if it was, as Tacitus says, generally understood that Tiberius meant Agrippina and Nero—and—as he says too, that Tiberius could not bear the thought of having his thoughts known, was there not great danger in pressing him to disclose them?—Was then Asinius Gallus the most likely of all men to have made the proposal to the Senate?—But, says Tacitus, his proposal was overruled by Sejanus, on the score that the prince did not like to reveal his thoughts.—And why then, it may surely be asked, did he, while residing at Capreæ, complain that his life was in danger?—That he feared the plots of his enemies?—What enemies could he, who had but just before so endeared himself to every body, have had?—Or what plots could be formed against his life, while he was residing at Capreæ?—Or against his government, who, by his own account, had then no government?—Or rather, had so much interest with the Senate as to prevail on them to execute one of the most staunch and zealous friends of the family of Germanicus, merely for his attachment to them.—Does not Tacitus then appear to have made a very incomprehensible report of this whole affair?

Let us next proceed to attend to one occurrence more, which, Tacitus says, began to take place soon after the execution of Sabinus, and before the year was expired—and which occurrence was, he also says, incomparably more terrific than the revolt of a warlike people, and, of course, than the execution of Sabinus.

His account of this internal consternation, for that is the name he gives this political phenomenon, he introduces with saying that the Senate, at a time when a warlike people were incroaching on the

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borders of the empire, regardless of that disgrace, were totally occupied about devising a method to obviate it—and, that the only thing they could think of, as likely to accomplish their purpose, was adulation—*Cui remedium adulatione quærebatur.*—A strange application for so great a political disorder!—But to whom, does he say, this adulation was to be paid?—by whom—and—how?—*scil.*—to Tiberius and Sejanus—by the Senate—and—by erecting altars to clemency and amity around the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus—*ita quamquam diversis super rebus consularentur, aram Clementiæ, aram Amicitiae, effigiesque circum Cæsaris et Sejani censuere.*—But how could they think that adulation of any kind, especially of a religious nature, was likely to be the means of conciliating Tiberius to co-operate in remedying this evil?—Did they not know that he hated adulation of every kind, and especially such as was of a religious nature?—That he had forbidden that by edict?—Does not this mode then of adulating him imply something of a very unaccountable nature?—However, whether they did, by this sort of adulation, intend to please him, or, whether they did not, does it not seem to imply that they considered Tiberius as the cause of this sudden alarm, if not, that he was able to remove it and would not?—But what political evil could he, who had been driven from Rome by his mother, and was then residing at Capreæ, and afraid that his enemies had a design on his life, have introduced at Rome?—Would he, who, as Suetonius says, iii. 37, had most grievously suppressed some popular tumults, not only at Rome but throughout Italy, and taken great care that they should never happen again—*Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit; et ne orirentur sedulo cavit.*—And, as he seems to have intimated immediately before, by stationing the prætorian guards at Rome.—And who, as Tacitus says, A. iv. 64, but the year before had received the thanks of the Senate and of all ranks of the

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people of Rome for his beneficence to them, have thought of disturbing them so inconceivably by the introduction of any evil?—That he did, at some time of his reign, by great artifice, introduce what Tacitus is pleased to call a most grievous evil—*exitium*—he, and he alone, we find, assures us, A. i. 73, and, as we have already seen, p. 40,* after the 13th year of his reign.—Was then the introduction of this most grievous evil the cause of this amazing internal consternation?—If it was, we have seen that we have no little reason to think the introduction of the execrable superstition—alias—of the Christian religion, was the cause of all of it. And, consequently, that it may also have been the cause of his retiring to Capreæ, as, it seems, his life must have been in danger from the enemies of the Christian religion—if not of its being said that the people were so terrified at the execution of Sabinus—and—of its being also said that he turned the most worthless of the freedmen against him.—That this was really the fact why should we not infer, even from what, we have already seen, Tacitus says of this internal dread, and still more from what he says in the sequel?—Tacitus proceeds to say that the Senate repeatedly importuned them to shew themselves—*crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent*—with this repeated request they would not comply—*Non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi digressi sunt*.—How differently did he behave only a few months before, towards the sufferers at Fidenæ and towards those on Mount Cœlius! On the former occasion, he, as Suetonius says, went, at the request of the people, from Capreæ *instantly*, and made himself accessible to all.—But now he would not comply with the repeated prayers of the Senate, who, instead of begging that he would order out the prætorian troops,

* Orig. Quot.

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went, with the knights and great part of the commonalty, while Rome was in the greatest confusion, to the coast of Campania, and, merely, as Tacitus pretends, to get a fight of them.—This, however, Tiberius himself took care not to indulge them with, and, no doubt, for fear of any attempt on his life.—This, says Tacitus, made them return in trepidation.—Some, subjoins he, a little cheered at their better reception, on their return soon met with a grievous exit.

CHAPTER VIII.

Why Tiberius did not see his dying mother.

AND

Whether she refused honors ne—or—ni, &c.

TACITUS, v. 1, says, that Livia died u. c. 782—or—in the 71st year of Tiberius.—Now if she died in that year, and her son was then in his 71st, she must have been, at her death, not as Pliny says, xiv. 6, 82 years old, but, as Dion says, l. lviii, p. 621, C, at least 86—*εξ και ογδοηκοντα ετη ζησασα*.—Tacitus had, it should be observed, before said, A. iv. 8, where he is speaking of the events of u. c. 776, that her age was, in that year, extreme.

During her illness, Tiberius, says Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion, never saw her, and, when she was dead, did not attend her funeral, neither, say they, would he permit her body to be consecrated.—All this, they suppose, proceeded from disrespect.—Tacitus says, that he, though just before afraid that his life was in danger, made no change, all the time she was ill, in his usual amenity—and—that he, at her death, though inattentive to the revolt of the Frisii, told the Senate

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that the pressure of public business was so great that he could not attend.*—Let us proceed to enquire why he was so inattentive to her in her last moments and after her death.

If he was, as Tacitus, we have seen, in the last chapter, seems to say, l. 72, so very early on such notoriously bad terms with her as to have excited the obloquy of satyrists, it surely cannot be a matter of surprize that he paid no attention to her in her last illness.—But Tacitus, we have discovered, could not have meant to say so.—Indeed, if he had meant to say so, he would be found, by what he says afterwards, in the following books, to appear to contradict himself.—For, ii. 34, he says, that Tiberius, *to please his mother*, went to the Senate, to plead the cause of her favorite Urgulania, who had refused to attend the summons of Piso, the præfect of the city, and had been protected, by Livia, in her contumacy—Tiberius indulgere matri civile ratus, &c.—And again, in three or four places of the third book, he says enough to induce us to suppose that Tiberius could not have disagreed with his mother so early as to have their disagreement publicly known in the course of the year after he was made emperor, if not enough to convince us that their concord must have been sincere till a year or two after the death of Germanicus.—In the 3d chapter, he says, that both Tiberius and his mother did not attend the funeral of Germanicus, and possibly, as he hints, that their pretensions to grief might not be discovered.—In the 16th chapter, he reports the dying words of Piso—who, after complaining that he had been falsely accused, and that the evidence in his favor had not been attended to, said, in a codicil to Cæsar, which he left—“ I call the immortal Gods

* Dion says, l. 58, p. 621, D., καίπερ τον Τιβερίον επαινησαντες οτι της των κοινων διοικησεως εδε τότε απεσχετο.—Suetonius says, iii. 41, that he cared nothing for the republic—and—51, that he encouraged them to hope that he would attend.

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to witness that I have lived faithfully towards you, and piously towards your mother; and I beseech you both to think of my children.”—*Conspiratione inimicorum, et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est; deos immortales testor vixisse me, Cæsar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate: vosque oro liberis meis consulatis.*—In the next chapter, 17, he says, that Tiberius, *at the earnest intreaty of his mother*, shamefully and scandalously, defended, in the Senate, Plancina, the murderer of her grand-son, who, he says, chapter 14, was not poisoned, and, who, we have seen, CHAP. V, was not murdered.—*Pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio differuit, matris preces obtendens.*—And, in the 64th chapter, he says, that Tiberius, who, in the beginning of the year 774, went into Campania, and, with a design never to return—*longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans*—and, who, seemingly, in pursuance of his intention at the outset, remained there till the following year, on hearing of the sudden illness of his mother, thought it necessary to return instantly.—*Sub idem tempus Juliæ Augustæ valetudo atrox necessitudinem Principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus:*—Now as Tacitus has declared that the illness of Livia made Tiberius think it *necessary* to return to the city *in haste*, notwithstanding he had, before his outset, formed a design never to return, who would suppose that he meant to have it understood that he was offended at her?—And yet he, we find, subjoins this very sapient and unexpected alternative—their concord was hitherto sincere—or—their resentments were concealed—*sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia, sive, occultis odiis*—that is—as we presume, just as if he had said—they still either agreed, or, disagreed.—But after what he had said, i. 72, who would have expected to hear him admit that their concord might still have been *sincere*?—And, who, after what he had said, ii. 34, and iii. 3, 17, and what he says here, would have ex-

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pected him to insinuate that their enmity might have been concealed? If Tiberius, notwithstanding his design of living continually at a great distance from Rome, thought it necessary to return quickly, as soon as he heard of his mother's illness, does not this seem to prove that their concord was still sincere?—Why then should Tacitus, after having produced an unquestionable proof that their concord was still sincere, have thought it at all to his credit to intimate that it may not have been so, and only because, it was *supposed*, that Tiberius had, a little before—*paulo ante*—been offended at her?—And why, does he say, some supposed that he was offended at her?—*scil.*—Livia had, not long before, *i. e.*—not long before 775, caused her name to be inscribed on a statue of Augustus before that of Tiberius, and this, *as was supposed*, offended him—*idque ille credebatur, ut inferius majestate Principis, gravi et dissimulata offensione abdidisse.*—But whatever he might have been, he, it seems, was not so offended now as to neglect to see her—or—to refuse any of the honors voted to her, on this occasion, by the Senate.—Tacitus then, here asserts that Tiberius had a due regard for his mother in the year 775.—In the year following, he says, *iv. 8*, that he bewailed, in the Senate, the extremity of her age—*Miseratusque Augustæ extremam senectam.* Lastly he, *v. 3*, once more asserts positively that his obsequiousness towards her, was, to the last, inveterate—*quia Tiberio, inveteratum erga matrem obsequium.*

This is the evidence on this point which we collect from what Tacitus says of the conduct of Tiberius towards his mother before she died.—Let us now attend to what he says of the conduct of Tiberius towards her memory after she was dead,

He, says Tacitus, would receive but very few of those many honors bountifully decreed her by the Senate—*honoresque memoriæ ejus ab*

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Senatu large decretos, quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis.—What honors those were which were liberally decreed her by the Senate, after her death, he does not say—nor what those many were, which he refused—neither does he say what those very few were which he accepted.—To this he subjoins the reason why he refused those many—ne cœlestis religio decerneretur—and afterwards informs us, that Tiberius observed, it was her own option—sic ipsam maluisse.—But what?—Did she order most of those honors to be refused—ne cœlestis religio decerneretur?—What celestial religion could she have meant?—Had not Tacitus, A. i. 11, informed us, that celestial religions in general had been already decreed to Augustus? Had not the Senate before, u. c. 776, ordered her to be worshipped? And did she not then consent to it?—Why then should she be thought to have had any concern about celestial religion?—Especially about the decreeing of it?—Or—how could she have thought that the acceptance of any of the honors which she ordered to be refused would tend to accelerate the decreeing of any religion?—Would the decreeing of any religion necessarily follow her acceptance of those honors? And what if it did?—Why would she wish to hinder celestial religion from being once more decreed?—But of this more hereafter?

In the vi. 5. Tacitus mentions a fact which seems to imply that Tiberius must have had the greatest veneration for her memory in the year 785—that is—nearly three years after she was dead—if not that what he had before said of his refusal of almost all the honors decreed to her by the Senate is not a little likely to be false.—He there says, that Cotta Messalinus, who, he admits in the sequel of that chapter, was one of the most intimate friends of Tiberius, was accused, in the Senate, of having said the following thing of an entertainment, given,

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either on *the* birth-day of Augusta to certain priests, or, on *a* birth-day to the priests of Augusta, of which he himself partook—"that it was a funeral, or, expiatory supper—et cum die natali Augustæ inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cœnam dixisse." Cotta, being pressed hard on the subject, appealed to Tiberius, who, instead of finding fault with him for having been present at such a feast, instantly wrote a letter to the Senate, in which, after reverting to the commencement of their intimacy, and enumerating his many services, he enjoined them to take no notice of expressions used in the hour of conviviality, which, at such times, were liable to be misunderstood. By this then we find that either the birth-day of Augusta was kept three years after her death—or, that priests were continued to officiate to her (as they did to her in her life-time) in conjunction with Tiberius and the Senate—that a friend of Tiberius attended their convivial meeting—and that Tiberius was not offended at it—though he would not be worshipped himself.—Was she, as Tiberius himself, we shall find, also was, worshipped in spite?—Why then should Tacitus have said that Tiberius refused almost all the honors decreed to her by the Senate.—And what can he have meant by saying—et addito ne cœlestis religio decerneretur—and—sic ipsam maluisse?—If she had any objection to make to her own deification why did she not make it before her death?

Having now considered all that Tacitus has advanced on this subject—let us proceed to consider what other writers have said on it.

Seneca, in his Consol. to Marcia for the loss of her son, chapter 4, quotes the example of Livia, who, it seems, by two or three places in this work, was then alive, and intimately acquainted with Marcia. Livia, says he, was inconsolable for the loss of her son Drusus, but she attended to the consolation of Areus, whose persuasions were of

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more avail than even the filial piety of Tiberius—*plusquam Tiberium filium, cujus pietas efficiebat, ut in illo acerbo et defleto gentibus funere, nihil sibi nisi numerum deesse sentiret.*—This consolation, it should be observed, Seneca wrote after the death of Cordus, the father of Marcia, who, as Tacitus says, iv. 35, killed himself u. c. 778—and therefore two years after he pretended that some thought that the piety of Tiberius towards his mother, in u. c. 775, was not sincere, and ten years after he was, as Tacitus says, A. i. 72, lampooned by the anonymous satyrists for his impiety towards her.

Paterculus, who wrote the year after the death of Livia u. c. 783, and addressed his work to Vinicius, the then consul, speaks of Tiberius as having, for the three years past, been overcome with grief on several accounts—and, as having been, nobody knows how long, inwardly devoured by a certain latent fire—and, moreover, as having had his grief not a little increased by the infamous proceedings of Agrippina and Nero.—After having deplored all this to Vinicius, Paterculus concludes his history with this remark—the grief of this period has been increased by the loss of his most eminent mother—a woman, in every thing, more like the Gods than men; whose power nobody felt unless by the removal of danger, or, the accession of dignity.

Suetonius, iii. 51, gives a quite different account of the conduct of Tiberius towards his mother just before and after her death.—He says that Tiberius never saw her but once in the course of the last three years—that he would not attend her funeral—that he would not execute her will—that he persecuted all her friends and acquaintances—especially those to whom she had left the care of her

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funeral—that he forbad her body to be consecrated—and that he pretended she had left orders that it should not.—But though Suetonius says all this, iii. 51, yet he has said enough in the next book, c. 1, 15, to convince us that he did not refuse any other honor besides consecration, if not to convince us that all the rest cannot have been true—chapter 1, he says, that Tiberius permitted Caius to speak her funeral oration—and, chapter 15, he says, that Caius heaped, by one decree of the Senate, all the honors on his grand-mother Antonia, which had been ever conferred on Livia.

Dion says, l. lviii, p. 621, C. D., that Tiberius would not accept of any other honor besides a public funeral and images, &c. and, that he strenuously deprecated her immortalization—*αθανατισθῆναι ἀντικρυσ ἀπηγορεύσεν*.—Dion further says, that the Senate not only decreed her *what Tiberius ordered*—*ἐπεσεύλε*—but that they also decreed her a mourning of matrons, for a year, and (what was never before granted to a woman) an Arch, and, for this reason—because she had saved many senators, and had provided for their children.—This Arch, he subjoins, Tiberius undertook to erect at his own expence, but never did it.* Dion also seems to say, l. lix, p. 648, B., that a profusion of honors were voted her, and, among the rest, immortality—*καὶ οἷα τε ἀλλὰ, ὅσα τῇ τε Λιβίᾳ ἐδόδοτο, ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἵνα αθανατισθῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλευτήριον χρυσὴ ἀνατεθῇ*.

Seneca and Paterculus then, we find, contradict Tacitus concerning the piety of Tiberius towards his mother.—And Suetonius and Dion, we also find, contradict him with regard to the honors accepted and refused by him—they say that the Senate voted her, besides those which

* Suetonius says, v. 11, that an Arch was decreed to Tiberius by the Senate, but never built.

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Tiberius ordered, many other—and, that Tiberius did not refuse any other besides her consecration.—Now if consecration or immortalization was the only honor refused by him why did not Tacitus tell us so? Was he afraid that his report of what Tiberius added—viz—*ne cœlestis religio decerneretur*—would, in that case, become questionable?—How could the decreeing of her immortalization or consecration be considered as any thing else but the decreeing of celestial religion?—What else could it have been?—Do not Seneca, Suetonius, and Dion seem to intimate that it was really so?—Seneca, we know, says of Claudius. Apoc—*Divam Augustam aviam suam quam ipse Deam esse jussit.*—Suetonius says of him, v. 11—*Aviæ Liviæ divinos honores decernendos curavit.*—And Dion says of him, l. lx, p. 667, that he gave her immortality—*αλλα και απηθανατισεν.*—All which surely imply that to deify her and to give her divine honors were the same as to decree her immortality.—Would Tiberius then have added such a ridiculous reason?—Or, would he, who had several years before published an edict prohibiting his own worship—and was then notoriously a worshipper of Christ, have permitted, on any condition, the worship of his mother?—Or, would she, who, as Josephus says, had always been intimately acquainted with Herod and his family, and honored by them as their patroness, and who, as Philo says, had contributed to the support of the worship of the temples, have been, to the last, concerned about the religion of the Romans?—It is true that she had, but four years before, consented to be worshipped in conjunction with the Senate and her son, and that a coin, with this inscription—*Θειο Καισαρος Σεβαστ Θειας Ιουλιας Σεβαστης**—if not another with this—*Divæ Juliæ*—had, before that again, been struck, yet as she had been previously acquainted with the religion of the Jews, and Christianity

* Tristanus T. I. p. 127.

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had then been published, how are we to be sure that she was not inclined to favor that?—And as Tiberius himself was worshipped, in opposition to his own edict, how shall we be sure that the Senate may not have decreed her divine honors in opposition both to her own inclination and to his remonstrance?—Does not Dion seem to say, l. lix, p. 648, B., that she was, notwithstanding Tiberius so strenuously opposed it, deified, when she received such a profusion of other honors?—He there says, that Caius not only bestowed on his departed sister Drusilla *all the other honors that had been voted to Livia* but also immortality—*καὶ οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὅσα τῇ τε Λιβίᾳ ἐδότο ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἵνα ἀθανάτισθῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλευμένιον χρυσὴ ἀνατεθῇ.*—And does not Tacitus himself seem to intimate that the Senate did actually consecrate her, by observing that she had *priests* of her own, as, Prudentius also seems to testify by the following line—*Adjecere sacrum fieret quo Livia Juno.**—Claudius, we have indeed just seen, is said by Seneca and others, to have had the credit of having caused her consecration, but may it not be doubted whether he did any thing more than revive the dormant decree?—Has not Seneca himself given us something like a reason to doubt it by naming her—*Divam Augustam*—in the very beginning of the sentence wherein he speaks of her deification by Claudius?

As then it appears by the evidence of Suetonius and Dion that Tiberius opposed the deification of his mother, as he had before that of himself—and—that he opposed the former at his mother's request, but notwithstanding all the opposition which he made to it he could not prevent it, ought not Tacitus to have acquainted us with this?—Instead of doing so, he has, we find, informed us that Tiberius refused all honors (which, we find, by the report of Suetonius and Dion, was not true,) not, indeed, absolutely, but, optionally—*sic illam*

* l. in Symmach. p. 251.

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maluisse.—As then this seems to have been the case—and—ne cœlestis religio—does not well comport with either the refusal of honors, or, with her option, suppose we endeavour to make this dissonant sentence to be more in consonance both with what precedes and follows.—What then if we read *ni* for *ne*?*—And what if his meaning had been this?—Tiberius, who, in the year before had proposed it to the Senate to authorise the worship of Christ, and had the mortification to see his proposal rejected, declared that it was his mother's last command that but few of the honors, which the Senate intended to decree to her memory, should be accepted, *ni*, unless they would, at the same time, decree celestial religion—that is—decree that Christ should be worshipped.

Tiberius then, we have seen, did not, out of any disrespect to his mother, refuse the honors decreed to her, but, in compliance with her own injunction.—Why then should we be expected to believe that he voluntarily neglected to see her in her last illness, or, to attend her funeral?—Why, as he complained to the Senate, a few months before, that his enemies had a design on his life, should we not think that the fear of being assassinated is much more likely to have deterred him from going to Rome to see her?—and to attend her funeral?—But why should so good a prince, who, as Suetonius says, iii. 67, had the title of Pater Patriæ voted him by the Senate, in the very beginning of his reign—ut imperium inierit—and who, as Tacitus says, A. i. 72, had the same title often given him by the people—a populo sæpius ingestum—who had, for his past services, often received the thanks of the Senate—who had, by their permission,

* The use of *ni* for *nisi* is very common with Tacitus—in the reign of Tiberius only we often see it.—See A. i. 69—ii. 39—iii. 14, 16, 28—iv. 17, 30, 64.

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been every where worshipped—who had, but the year before, been, both by the Senate and the people, thanked for his beneficence—and who used to go any where alone.*—Why should such an one have been afraid of what his enemies could do to him?—Unless, indeed, he, as Tacitus remarks, after having done so much good, artfully contrived to introduce a most (as he also says) grievous evil, or, execrable superstition—that is—as we imagine, an inestimable good, or, the belief of the divinity of Christ, and, thereby caused that internal alarm, which, says he, was far worse than *the revolt of a war-like people*, and, perhaps, that rage for accusing, which, as Seneca says, was *worse than any civil war*, and more destructive to the Romans. Now if Tiberius did introduce Christianity into Rome, and much opposition was, as both Seneca and Tacitus seem to say, and, as Clemens, of Rome, expressly says, made to it, at the very first, by unbelievers, and, as Tertullian says, even by a majority of the Senate—for Tiberius, he says, first proposed it to them to admit the worship of Christ at Rome, and that they, instead of acceding to the proposal, ordered all Christians to leave Rome, and, of course, Tiberius himself, (for he, it seems, as the same writer says, remained still of the same persuasion,) and, by that means, suppressed it, as Tacitus says, for the present.—If, say we again, Tiberius did really introduce Christianity into Rome, and was, thereby, the cause of so much discord, how are we to be sure that he may not have been afraid of some of the adversaries of Christianity, and of most of the Senate?—Does not all that Tacitus says, iv. 74, of the internal alarm—of the means which the Senate took to remove it—viz—the religious adulation of

* Suetonius, iii. 30, *Nunquam curiam nisi solus intravit: lecticâ, &c.*—40, *potestatem omnibus adeundi sui fecit; tanto magis, &c.*—Tacitus, iv. 22, *Non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum: &c.*—Dion, l. lvii. p. 609, B. C. D.

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Tiberius—of the many petitions, which they, in the midst of all this confusion, sent to Tiberius to request him to return to Rome—of his refusing, contrary to his usual practice, to comply—of their going, while Rome was still agitated with terror, in a body, with the knights and the commonalty, to the coast of Campania for the sole purpose of seeing him—of the grievous exit that awaited those cheerful few who had been favored with a sight of Sejanus;—does not all this seem to indicate that Tiberius was afraid to trust himself with them?

CHAPTER IX.

Why and when Tiberius forbade instant executions.

IT was ever the practice of the Romans, till the reign of Tiberius, to execute those who had been condemned for any sort of crime as soon as sentence had been passed on them. Tiberius, we are informed by Suetonius, iii. 75, Tacitus, iii. 49, and Dion, l. 57, p. 616, 617, was the first who put a stop to this practice. The occasion, say they, was this—Lutorius Priscus, in the 8th year of Tiberius, u. c. 774, wrote a copy of verses against Drusus, while sick; and the Senate, without consulting Tiberius, who was at the time absent, on the point, prosecuted him on his own confession, for the defamation, and found him guilty of the crime, and, almost unanimously, condemned him to suffer death for the offence, and, as usual, instantly ordered him to be executed. All this was done without the knowledge of Tiberius. As soon as he was informed of the transaction, he, who, as Suetonius says, used to refer all matters to the Senate, who was contented to have some matters decided against his

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will, immediately, says Dion, l. 57, 617, A., expressed his disapprobation of the proceeding, and ordered the Senate to pass a decree—*επιτιμησε τε αυτοις, και δογμα τι παραδοθηναι εκειλευσε*—that no condemned person should, from that time, be executed within ten days after sentence had been passed upon him.

Tiberius then, we find, is allowed by those three historians to have been the sole cause of this new regulation, and, by two of them, to have been so in the 8th year of his reign. But though both Tacitus and Dion allow, that Tiberius was, in the 8th of his reign, the cause of passing this most humane decree, and, that he caused it to be passed, because the Senate had, almost unanimously, put a man to death for saying that he had libelled his sick son, without bringing him acquainted with it;—yet, we find, that they both appear to say that it was, about six years after, violated, by putting a man to death, on the accusation of four of their own body, for only *speaking* certain unknown words, which were drawn from him, in favor of Germanicus, who had then been dead nearly nine years, and against the pride, the cruelty, and the expectations of Sejanus, and some others about Tiberius.—Tacitus also adds, that Tiberius himself pretty clearly—*haud obscure*—ordered the Senate to do it, and, seemingly, *immediately*—*nec mora, quin decerneretur*.

Let us consider what Tacitus says of this matter a little attentively. He relates most of the particulars of it A. iv. c. 68, 69, 70.

He begins the 68th with the names of the consuls for that year, and then immediately proceeds to say how filthy—*foedum*—the beginning of the year was rendered by the unexpected imprisonment of an illustrious Roman knight *for his attachment to the family of Germanicus*.

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And in the sequel of the chapter he says who were his accusers—viz—four expectants of the ensuing consulship*—and—how they, in order to ingratiate themselves, not with Tiberius, but with Sejanus, (for by him they all hoped to obtain that office,) contrived to accuse him of having spoken treasonable words.—Their contrivance was, says, he, this—one of them got acquainted with him in the streets and drew him into conversation about his departed friend and about his family, and, by appearing to commiserate them, obtained the confidence of Sabinus, (for that was the name of this knight.)—Having secured this point—they next agreed that his pretended friend should invite him to his house, and take him into a certain closet in the upper story, which was so near the roof, that any thing which was said there could be distinctly heard—over this closet the other three agreed to take their station.—All things being thus contrived, Sabinus was, by his pretended friend, conducted to this closet, where they first conversed—not about the family of Germanicus, and then about the cruelty, the pride, and the expectations of Sejanus, not even sparing Tiberius—*ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet*—but about what had recently happened—*recens cognita*—then the conversation turned on what might be shortly expected—*instantia*—which, it seems, was a copious subject—*quorum adfatim copia*—and, lastly, a great deal was said of *new terrors*—*ac novos terrores cumulat*—the substance of this conversation those four conspirators considered as treasonable, and contrived to report it, in that light, to Tiberius, then at Capreae. No sooner was this known, than all the city was in the utmost consternation, as if the same thing which had happened to Sabinus might

* How can four candidates for an office, that was discharged by two only, be supposed to have entered into such a conspiracy—especially so soon after the election was passed?

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happen to every individual, however humble.—Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens adversus proximos, congressus, colloquia, notæ ignotæque aurai vitari: etiam muta atque inanima, tectum, et parietes circumspectabantur.—But what?—Were the people indeed so terrified at the expectation that the same thing might happen to any of them?—What says Pliny of the feelings of the people on this occasion?—He says, viii. 40, that the body of Sabinus was, after his execution, tumbled down the Gemoniæ—and that his dog, which had followed him all the way to the place of execution, still kept close to him, howling, as if for grief, to the admiration of *a great number of people*—magna populi romani corona—some of whom procured some meat for him, which he instantly offered to his dead master.—The body was then thrown into the river, and the faithful dog, to the no little surprise of the *surrounding multitude*—effusa multitudine ad spectandam animalis fidem—swam after it and endeavoured to bring it out. And, lastly, Tacitus, in the 70th chapter, relates how Tiberius, after having set on him *the most dissolute of the libertines*,* ordered him to be tried not for writing, but for uttering those complaints concerning the times, and to be immediately executed.—His own words—Sed Cæsar solemnities incipientis anni kalendis januariis epistola precatus; vertit in Sabinum corruptos quosdam libertorum, et petitum se arguens, ultionemque *haud obscure* poscebat.—Now how could Tiberius have presumed, on the evidence stated by those four senatorials, to affirm that he was, any other way than with foul words, attacked by Sabinus—and, that he was the principal object of his obloquy?—If Tiberius, by petitum se arguens, meant to affirm that Sabinus had entered into a treasonable conversation against himself, he, it seems, must have derived that

* N. B. He is said, by Philo, p. 786, F., to have disliked Helico for being a knave.

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information, not from those four candidates for the consulship, for they did not charge Sabinus with any thing more than with having spoken disrespectfully of him, but, afterwards, from those profligate libertines. But how was it that Sabinus, knowing their characters, should, after having suffered so much, through a pretended friend, suffer himself to be again inveigled into a like conversation by Cæsar's own creatures? However, he, it seems, demanded, in a manner not to be misunderstood, the immediate execution of him, and his demand was, by the Senate, immediately, on the first day of the year, assented to—for Sabinus exclaimed, on the way to the place of execution—*Sic inchoari annum, &c.*—The city, says Tacitus, was again panic struck—*fuga, vastitas: deserti itinera, fora: et quidam regrediebantur, ostentabantque se rursus, id ipsum paventes, quod timuissent.**—After the execution of Sabinus, says Tacitus, Tiberius returned thanks to the Senate for having punished an enemy to the republic—and added that his life was in danger—that his enemies, whom he would not name, had a design against it: but, subjoins Tacitus, though he would not say who those enemies were, nobody doubted but that he meant Agrippina and Nero.

Tacitus then says, that Tiberius himself, within six years after he had caused the Senate to pass this celebrated decree (which it should

* This it appears by what Tacitus had previously said, iv. 67, and, by what Dion says, l. 58, init., must have happened very shortly after Tiberius went to Capreæ—and—but a few months, as Tacitus also says, 62, 63, 64, after the two disasters happened at Fidenæ and at Rome—on the former of which he, says Suetonius, iii. 40, at the request of the friends of the sufferers (who, it seems, were mostly of Rome) went from Capreæ to Fidenæ, and while he was there permitted any person to have access to him;—and, on the latter he, says Tacitus, iv. 64, behaved so beneficently that he received the thanks of both the Senate and the people.

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be remembered he did because they had presumed to execute a man for only writing a few verses on his sick son, and, which was never annulled) acted in defiance of it—or, rather—caused them to act in defiance of it.—But, admitting that he encouraged the base design of those four senators, and, that he employed those vile libertines to second what those senators had begun, can it also be supposed that he would have ordered the Senate to act in defiance of his own decree? And when Sabinus had only spoken certain unknown words, and those in reply to some observation of a superior?—But have we not something like a reason to question this whole report of Tacitus concerning Sabinus, when we consider what Pliny says of his prosecution in the 14th year of Tiberius?—He says, viii. 40—*Sed super omnia, in nostro ævo actis populi romani testatum, Appio Junio et P. Silio Coss. cum animadverteretur ex causa Neronis, Germanici filii, in Titium Sabinum et servitia ejus.*—Titius Sabinus then was, in the 14th year of Tiberius, by the report of Pliny, who lived at the time, and who appealed to the *Acta P. R.*, involved, together with his dependants, in some treasonable affair with Nero, the son of Germanicus, and was, on that account, tried by the Senate.—Pliny, it should be observed, says nothing of the interference of Tiberius, nor of Sabinus having been both imprisoned and executed on the first day of the year—he only says that it happened in the consulship of App. J. and P. Sil.—Had it happened on the first day of that year would he not have noticed so remarkable an occurrence?—Dion, however, who, we find, also passes by those circumstances, says, that Sabinus was, on the same day—*αυθημερον*—put to prison, and that he was executed uncondemned—*ακριτως*—which last remark, is, we have seen, contrary to the report of Tacitus, who says—*nec mora quin decerneretur.*

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But what occasion have we to acquiesce in the report of either of those contradictory and therefore suspicious historians, when we are assured, by the unanimous evidence of four most credible historians, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, that one of his provincial præfects did, in the same year, much against his own will, and without consulting Tiberius, consent to the *immediate* execution of the most exalted, beneficent, and inoffensive personage that ever came into the world.—The four historians above meant are the four Evangelists—all of whom, we find, say that our Lord was accused by the rulers of the Jews, before Pilate, of having said that he was a king, and, of having been a ring-leader of sedition—and, that he was, on the same day, pronounced guilty, and *immediately* executed.

Now can it be supposed that Pilate, who disliked the Jews and their religion, who had, on their complaint, been twice reprimanded by Tiberius, who was glad to refer the hearing of the charge to Herod, as being the governor of the country where the alledged crime was said to have been committed, who, after having heard Herod's report on the case, called the rulers of the Jews together to let them know that neither Herod nor himself had found any fault at all in him, who said to them, the third time, on their resolutely demanding his crucifixion—Why?—What evil hath he done?—Who still persisted in refusing to comply with their demand till a tumult was likely to ensue, who was importuned by his wife to have nothing to do with him, who washed his hands of the guilt of his condemnation—and, who was required, every year, to make a return of his official conduct.—Can it be supposed that Pilate would, after all this, have suffered himself to be compelled to act in defiance of this decree without authority—especially, as he knew, that Tiberius would not permit any of his præ-

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fects to be guilty of injustice, and that our Lord had so many followers all over Judea and Galilee?—Or, that the rulers of the Jews, who protested that they would have no king but Tiberius, would, if that decree had been then passed, have demanded the immediate execution of our Lord so vehemently, and in the name too of Tiberius?

This celebrated decree then clearly appears to have been passed not till after the crucifixion of our Lord, and, as Sabinus is said to have been put to death in the beginning of u. c. 781, several months at least after his death.—As then this appears to be so very clear—let us proceed to enquire whether it may not have been passed before the death of Sejanus—for, notwithstanding he was, by the Senate, executed on the same day in which he was apprehended—and—as Dion would have it thought, in compliance with the presumed intimation of Tiberius, yet, why, if as both Tacitus and Dion say, that decree had then been passed, should it have been presumed that he, after having caused the Senate to pass it, expected them to execute his prime minister so soon, and, as Dion says, without trial.

We are informed by Dion, l. 58, that Tiberius, in the beginning of the 18th year of his reign, confident of the co-operation of the Senate and of the people, determined to crush Sejanus—and—that he, in order to accomplish his purpose, wrote a very prolix incoherent letter to the conscript fathers.—This letter, says he, p. 626, E., was, by Macro, delivered to the consuls early in the morning of the day in which Sejanus was executed.—It, continues Dion, did not contain any express order for the execution of Sejanus—*ἀντίκρυς γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπροσεταξεν*—and of course not for his *immediate* execution, but only here and there glanced at him.—No sooner, says he, p. 627, D., had this incomprehensible letter been read than the Senate,

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without in the least endeavouring to get at a right understanding of it, (so far were they from being disposed to make any attempt of the kind, that they, one and all, immediately loaded him with reproaches,) and without any trial, (for Regulus, he says, fearing a tumult would, as Sejanus had so many friends and relations, ensue, if he was to proceed to try him, after having asked one only what should be done with him, and presuming that he said in reply—bind him and put him to prison, immediately proceeded to do it)—and, on the same day, as Dion proceeds to say, p. 628, A, executed him.

Now if Tiberius wrote thus obscurely of Sejanus, and did not specify any charge against him, how could he have expected that he would be tried?—And if he gave no order for his execution, especially his immediate execution, does it not imply that the Senate must have acted arbitrarily, if not in defiance of his decree?

Again—Tacitus has, vi. 18, mentioned another instance of immediate executions—he there says—and the former fears returned with the accusation of Confidius Proculus, of high-treason, whom the Senate seized, while he was celebrating a birth-day, condemned and killed.—*Dein redeunt priores metus, postulato majestatis Confidio Proculo: qui nullo pavore diem natalem celebrans, raptus in Curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque.*

Before we take our leave of this instance of the readiness of the Senate to punish, with immediate death, those who were accused of high-treason, it may not be amiss to attend to what both Tacitus and Dion say happened a little before in the same year.

Great complaints were, says Tacitus, c 16, made by accusers against usurers, who were so powerful that Gracchus, the prætor, thought it right to take the sense of the fathers on the point.—The

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fathers afraid to decide on it, desired Tiberius to direct them how to proceed in the business—with their request he instantly complied.—This is nearly the sum of the contents of this chapter.—In the next—viz—17, he says, that a great scarcity of coin ensued—Hinc, &c.—which, he says, was partly occasioned by the practice of usurers, and partly by the sale of the effects of condemned persons, the produce of which had been placed either in the exchequer or treasury.—Cæsar, says he, again stepped forth and lent a large sum of money to the public, without interest, for three years—or, as Dion says, l. 58, p. 634, E., lent it to senatorial men, that they might distribute it, without interest, to the public—το, τε πρᾶγμα το κατὰ τὰ δεινασματα εμετριάσε, καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔδωκεν, ὥς' αὐτὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν ἀτοκεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανείσθηναι.—To this Dion immediately subjoins what seems to be quite unconnected with the foregoing—viz—that Tiberius ordered all the principal accusers to be executed in one day—τῆς τε ἐπιβοητοτατῆς τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας ποιεμένων ἀποθάνειν ἐν μίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσε.¹—Now who can be supposed to believe that any prince would, immediately after having done two such noble acts of beneficence in favor of the Roman people, as Tacitus has recorded—and, after having removed those terrific pests of their repose—accusers, have permitted any one to accuse another—or, an accused person to be condemned without trial—and to be immediately executed, and in defiance of his decree forbidding such hasty executions? And yet Tacitus, we find, says—that he did both know of the proceeding and permit it to take place—and, moreover, that he, by so doing, caused the former fears of the Romans to return—Dein, redeunt priores metus, postulato majestatis C. Proculo, &c.

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The next instance which it may be proper to adduce on this point, is that of Afinius Gallus, an aged senator, and the father of several consulars, who was brother-in-law to Agrippina,* by marrying Vipfania the first wife of Tiberius, and who, as Tacitus says, iv. 71, had moved the Senate, immediately after the affair of Sabinus, that a petition should be presented to Tiberius requesting him to make the ground of his fear known to them, to the end, that they might, if they could, remove it.—This aged senator was, says Tacitus, vi. 23, in the year 786, no doubt—*haud dubium*—starved to death—but whether voluntarily, or by necessity, no one, says he, could say—*incertum habebatur*.—Cæsar, says he, was desired to say whether he would permit him to be buried—and was not ashamed to say that he had no objection to it—and to lament his hard lot in being taken off before he was tried, as if, in the course of three years, he could not have caused him to be tried.—This is nearly the whole of the account which Tacitus gives, iv. 23, of the death of this aged senator—an account which seems to be intended to convey a pretty strong reflection on Tiberius.—But, of what nature, we cannot perceive.—Neither can we, others may say, nor how this story any way tends to illustrate the question of immediate executions—for, Tacitus, it seems, is so far from saying that Gallus was condemned that he even complains that he was not tried.—True.—But let us attend to what Dion says of this same Afinius Gallus.

Dion says, l. 58, p. 622, B., that the Senate, the knights, and the commonalty of Rome used, in the year 782, to send deputations, from each of their ranks, to Tiberius, at Capreæ—and—that Afinius

* Tacitus says, vi. 25, that Gallus had committed adultery with Agrippina, who had then been a widow nearly 15 years.

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Gallus, who had been very forward to make motions tending to increase the honors of Sejanus, was, in the year 783, ambitious of being employed, by the Senate, as one of their delegates.—Tiberius, says Dion C., received him very kindly—*αλλα και πανυ αυτον εδεξιωσατο*.—But in the mean time, he, says Dion, had sent an epistle to the Senate accusing Gallus, *among other things*, of having, regardless of his own intimacy with Syriacus, envied Tiberius the friendship of Sejanus.—The Senate, continues he, proceeded, without delay, to consider the charge, and, without further evidence, and, without even hearing Gallus in his own defence, and, on the same day—*εν τη αυτη ημερα*—passed sentence of death on him, and sent a prætor to apprehend him and to execute him.—The prætor, continues Dion, (not without a remark that the whole affair was quite paradoxical and novel,) found Gallus regaling himself with Tiberius and drinking with him cups of mutual love.—And did this prætor presume to take Gallus away from the business of his embassy, and from his love feast, to execution immediately?—So, we find, says Dion.—And would Tiberius permit it to be done?—No, he would not, even though Gallus himself desired it—but he bade Gallus to be of good courage, and detained him as a prisoner at large, till he himself should return to Rome. This, says Dion, was done by consuls, or, during the consulship of Tiberius, by prætors,* for three years, not indeed to keep him from escaping, but from laying violent hands on himself.—During which time, he, subjoins Dion, was not permitted to see any body but the person whose business it was *to force him to eat*.—So that we perceive by this that Gallus was not permitted to starve himself, as Tacitus says.—On the contrary, Dion seems to say, p. 636, B., that he was, with many others, put to death.

* Dion, l. 58, p. 632, D.—*και ες φυλακην τοις αρχουσιν ως ποτε τον Γαλλον παραδεναι*.

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In short—that this decree was not passed till after the death of our Lord is plain—and, that the proceeding of the Senate, with respect to the execution of Sejanus, cannot be adduced as a proof that it was not passed nearly four years after his death, is not less plain.

 CHAPTER X.

When and why did Tiberius abolish all the asyla in the empire?

SUETONIUS tells us, iii. 37, that Tiberius abolished all the asyla in the empire—*Abolevit jus moremque asylorum quæ usquam erant.*—Now when did he do this, and why did he do it?

That Tiberius should have thought of doing it is a matter of no little astonishment, because Tacitus, we find, says iii. 60, that he, in the year 775, permitted the Senate to take cognizance of the Grecian asyla, and to suppress those that had been abused. The account which Tacitus gives of this affair is very remarkable, and deserves our particular attention. And not only the account itself is very remarkable, but also the manner in which he introduces it, for by the manner in which he introduces it, we shall be enabled to perceive, that he permitted the Senate to take cognizance not of the Grecian asyla only, but, of all foreign asyla.—He introduces his account of this matter, with telling us, that Tiberius, by way of confirming his despotism, ordered all his provincial præfects to make,

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every year, a return, not to himself, but to the Senate, of the memorable occurrences that had happened in the year preceding, as they used to do in the days of the republic.—His own words are these—*Sed Tiberius, vim sibi principatus firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui præbebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem Patrum mittendo.*—And can he have meant this as the introduction of what concerned the Grecian states only?—Does it not seem that the provinces in general were to make their complaints to the Senate?—If Tiberius made this new regulation, by way, as Tacitus says, of consolidating his sovereignty, would he have ordered the Grecian states only to make those returns?—Would not a partial restoration of an ancient privilege have tended only to remind them of how much more power they were still deprived?—Besides—who would have thought that he could, by the general terms—*postulata provinciarum*—have meant only the complaints of the abuses of the asyla in the Grecian states? If we were to confine our attention to what immediately follows—viz—*Crebescebat enim Græcas per urbes licentia et impunitas asyla statuendi*—we should be led to think that he must have meant those complaints only—but if we extend our enquiry though the whole of the sequel, we shall, perhaps, perceive that we seem to have no little reason to think that he evidently meant all foreign asyla.

But for what reason, does he say, those numerous unchartered asyla were instituted all over the Grecian states?—scil—*complebantur templa pessimis servitorum: eodem subsidio obæratî adversum creditores*:—but were those unauthorised Grecian asyla the only receptacles for such sort of wretches?—Were not those at Rome, even by the evidence of Tacitus, iii. 36, abused in the same manner?—And were such wretches only shut up in those Grecian asyla?—No—Tacitus says immediately after—*suspectique capitalium criminum recepta-*

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bantur.—Having told us that those Grecian asyla were receptacles of state delinquents, he subjoins—*Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut cæremonias Deum protegentis.*—*Igitur*, continues he, that is, seemingly, for this latter reason only—*placitum ut mitterent civitates jura atque legatos.* This, then, seems to be the first and the only step which the Senate took in consequence of the renewal of their lost privilege.

Thus far he seems to have confined himself to a detail of the abuses practised in the asyla of the Grecian states only.—Some of which, he says, voluntarily relinquished their usurpations—*Et quædam quod falso usurpaverant sponte omisere.*—But in all the sequel he seems to have extended his view of the subject to confederate states, and tributary kingdoms, if not to those allies whose religion they could not comprehend—*Magnaue ejus diei species fuit, quo Senatus majorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam, qui ante vim romanam valuerant, decreta, ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit.*—As a conclusion to all this, and to the chapter, he adds—that the Senate were still permitted to proceed in the enquiry—*libero ut quondam quid firmaret mutaretve.*

In the two next chapters—viz—61, 62, he proceeds to mention several Asiatic states that then appeared to prove the prescriptive rights of their asyla.—In the 61st he mentions the Ephesians, and the Ephesians only.—In the 62d he places first the Magnes—then the Aphrodisiens—then the Stratonicens—then the Hierocæsariences—and, lastly, the Cyprians.—These are all he mentions by name.

But besides the deputies from those Grecian and Asiatic states for the rights of their asyla, there were also some from still other states on

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the same business—for he, we find, begins the next chapter—viz—63, with saying—*Auditæ aliarum quoque civitatum legationes*.—But what other states, sent deputies, he does not say—nor can we conceive, unless the Jewish was one of those states.—They were, it seems, so many, that he subjoins—*Quorum copiâ fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere, ut perspecto jure, et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram rursus ad senatum referrent*.—By which it seems to appear more clearly that the Senate considered themselves as the proper judges of such matters—that they had a further hearing on them—and, that they expected further information from the consuls.

In the following year—viz—776, he says, iv. 14, that the deputies from Samos and Coos petitioned to have the ancient rights of their asyla confirmed.—And again, in the next chapter, he says enough to convince us that Tiberius did not, in that year, revoke his late concession, he there says of the Senate, that they, *even then*, discussed every thing—*apud quos, etiam tum, cuncta tractabantur*—and subjoins a most remarkable instance of it, in the case of Lucilius Capito, the præfect of Asia, whose accusers Tiberius exhorted the Senate to hear.

By the evidence of Tacitus then, in those two chapters of the fourth book, it appears that the Senate had a further hearing of some of the asyla deputies the following year—and, that they were, even then, possessed of the power of discussing all points.—How much longer they exercised this privilege let us proceed to enquire.

That Tiberius is not likely to have revoked his voluntary concession before the end of the year 778 is plain, by what Tacitus says, iv. 43, of the decision of the Senate concerning the disputed right of the

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temple of Diana Limenatidis—De jure templi Dianæ Limenatidis.—The dispute, it should be observed, arose between the Lacedæmonians (who, Suetonius says, iii. 6, were under the protection of the Claudian family,) and the Messenians—but, notwithstanding that, the Senate decided in favor of the Messenians.

Again—That Tiberius is not likely to have revoked his voluntary concession to the Senate, before the year 779—or, just before he retired from Rome, is plain from what Tacitus says, iv. 55, 56—viz—that the Senate took it upon them to decide in what municipality of Asia the temple, decreed two years before to Tiberius, should be built.—This, it should be observed, they did, though Tiberius had, in the mean time, refused a similar request from the people of Spain.

Lastly—That Tiberius could not have abolished all the asyla in the empire before the end of the year 780 is plain from what Tacitus says, iv. 67—viz—that Tiberius was reported to have set some to persuade Agrippina and Nero (who, as Paterculus* and Pliny† say, were in custody for endeavouring to raise a sedition at Rome,) to take refuge at a famous statue of Augustus in the forum‡—*ultroque struebantur, qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniæ exercitus, vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti, populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare.*

* ii. 130.

† viii. 40.

‡ That this statue of Augustus was, by Tiberius, allowed to protect delinquents, late in his reign, may be inferred from what Suetonius says, iii. 38—viz—*paullatim hoc genus calumniæ eo processit, ut hæc quoque capitalia, essent: circa simulacrum Augusti servum cecidisse, &c.*

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Let us now hear what the scriptures say of this matter—Moses, says the old testament, established asyla—now, whatever he established was, as Josephus informs us, secured by mutual compact at the deposition of Archelaus, when the Jews voluntarily requested to be governed, in political matters, by the Roman laws—their religious laws were preserved ever after by Augustus and by Tiberius inviolate. They were also indulged by the Romans with the most extraordinary privilege of demanding yearly, of their Roman governor, the release of a notorious malefactor, though (as Tacitus observes of those delinquents who were protected by most of those other asyla,) a state prisoner, who had caused a sedition and in it had committed murder. This privilege they always enjoyed under Pilate, and, in the 14th year of Tiberius, they compelled him to do as he had ever done, and, to release to them one whom he had imprisoned as the leader of sedition, and in preference to one who, Pilate was convinced, was quite innocent of any crime.—Consequently as this privilege of the most dangerous tendency was then continued, why should we not conclude that Tiberius had not, when our Lord was crucified, abolished all the asyla in the empire?

Let us now, in order to obtain a little more satisfaction on this point, consult Suetonius:

Suetonius, we have observed, speaks of the abolition of asyla in the 37th chapter.—In the *preceding* part of that chapter he speaks of popular tumults, and of the great care which Tiberius took to suppress them—viz—by stationing guards all over Italy—and, by collecting the body guards at Rome—and, in the part following, he speaks of the inhabitants of Cyzicum being deprived of their freedom of Rome.—Now Dion, we find, has, l. 57, p. 619, D., placed those two events in the year 777.—In this then either Suetonius or Dion

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appears, by what has been already said of this matter, to be wrong. Again—Suetonius, we observe, in the 36th chapter, mentions the expulsion of the Jews, Egyptians, and such like sectaries from Rome—why then should we not suppose that the expulsion of the Jews, &c. preceded, and but a short time, the abolition of the asyla?

Let us now then look out for a period before which it seems likely that Tiberius must have done it.

The Talmud of Jerusalem, we find, says, that judgment was taken from Israel in the 16th year of Tiberius, that is, as is commonly supposed, all power of life and death, but, as we suppose, only that of stoning the Jewish believers, as blasphemers.—Now if Tiberius, in the 16th year of his reign, forbade the Jews to stone their believing brethren, as blasphemers, why should we not suppose that he did, before he took from them this imagined right, revoke what was only a gratuitously conceded privilege?—Would it not have been altogether unaccountable, if Tiberius should have permitted the Jews to retain any indulgence, especially one of so extraordinary a nature, and so dangerous to the Roman state, after they had presumed to usurp so strange a power as that of stoning to death their believing countrymen.

Tiberius then appears to have abolished all the asyla between the 14th and 16th year of his reign—that is, about the time when he ordered condemned criminals not to be immediately executed—and, about the time when the Senate expelled from Rome the Jews and such like sectaries.

Having now endeavoured to satisfy ourselves concerning the year in which Tiberius abolished all the asyla—let us next, as was proposed, endeavour to satisfy ourselves also why he did it.

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As then Tiberius appears, in the year 775, to have permitted the Senate to enquire into the privileges of the asyla in most of the eastern countries, and to correct the abuses to which they were perverted, (of which the chief was, as Tacitus says, the protection of state delinquents)—and to continue the exercise of their ancient right till the year 781.—Why should he, who, as Tacitus says, was for nothing so anxious as to let every thing remain as it was; and, who, as Josephus says, would hardly take the trouble to order a man, who had been accused of conspiring against him, to be imprisoned, have, without some very cogent reason, presumed to revoke an indulgence which he had freely granted to the Senate, and, as Tacitus says, by way of confirming his own despotism; and then to abolish all those asyla which the Senate had established, not excepting even the Jewish indulgence?—If indeed, he restored this privilege to the Senate, as Tacitus says, by way of confirming his despotism, would he, without a sufficient provocation, have presumed to take it from them again? Would it, in that case, not have been better not to have restored it? Did he then notice some very great abuse in any of them which the Senate ought to have corrected?—If so what could that have been, but the abuse of the Jewish, in the case of our Lord?—when, we find, a seditious person and a murderer was suffered to escape with impunity, and an innocent person put to death in his stead.

But if Tiberius, after having permitted the Senate to take cognizance of the abuses to which the asyla were generally perverted, found himself compelled, by their connivance at the greatest possible abuse of an asylum, to revoke his former concession, does it not seem to imply that some disagreement took place between them from that time?—And, especially, if Tiberius, at the same time, and for the same reason, forbade immediate executions?—This we hope to ascertain in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

Why and when Tiberius was afraid to enter the Senate.

STRABO, who it appears by what he says, vi. p. 199, wrote in the year 772—and, by what he says, vi. p. 199, just before the death of Germanicus (for Germanicus and Drusus, he there says, were still the lieutenants of Tiberius—*υπαργῆντες*)—and therefore in the 5th or 6th year of Tiberius, after having told us, in the preceding part of the last mentioned passage, how much more peace and plenty mankind enjoyed after they came under the dominion of Augustus, than they did, at any time, before, proceeds to say that they enjoyed the same under his successor Tiberius, *who followed all the rules of government prescribed by Augustus*.—Ουδε ποτε γὰρ ευπορῆσαι τοσαυτῆς ειρηνῆς καὶ αφθονίας αγαθων υπῆρξε Ρωμαιοις, καὶ τοις συμμαχοις αὐτων, οσὴν Καισαρ τε ὁ Σεβαστος παρεσχεν, ἀφ' ὃ παρελαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοτελῆ, καὶ νῦν ὁ διαδεξαμενος ἡὺς ἐκεῖνον, παρεχει Τιβεριος, καὶ νόμον τῆς διοικησεως, καὶ τῶν προσηματων ποιῶμενος ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, Γερμανικὸς τε καὶ Δρυσος, υπαργῆντες τῷ πατρί.—And those rules prescribed by Augustus, we may suppose he followed, till the end of Strabo's days—that is, at least, as we are informed by

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Casaubon, his interpreter, till the 12th of Tiberius.—And, if we may believe Tacitus, Ann. i. 77, ii. 65, iv. 37—and, again, in his life of Agricola, 13, Tiberius never after deviated from the line pointed out by his predecessor—excepting only in refusing divine honors himself—and, in abolishing all the asylums in the empire.

Seneca, in his *Consol. ad Marc.*, 15, which he wrote after the death of Cordus, who died u. c. 778, reckons Tiberius as not inferior to Augustus, or, rather as the greatest of great men.—And, in his *de Benef.*, ii. c. 7, he says, that Tiberius assisted several past prætors, whose income was not sufficient to enable them to live respectably, with money sufficient for that purpose.—And, iii. 26, he says, that, at the time, when the rage of accusing was so very great—that is, as we suppose, u. c. 781, the Senate encouraged accusations against those who, in compliance with his own decree, refused to worship him; and even sat in judgement on Paullus, a prætor, though he was accused of nothing more than of having, when intoxicated, polluted an effigy of him which he wore on his ring.

Paterculus seems to intimate, ii. 126, that the Senate had, either before, or, in the year 783, disagreed among themselves—and, that Tiberius was then so far from being disposed to widen the breach, that he had been the means of reconciling their mutual animosities—and, of increasing their dignity—*summota discordia curiâ accessit senatui majestas.*—And what does Paterculus seem to say was the result of this pacific disposition of Tiberius?—*scil.*—Such an universal and profound peace as was never known before—Quando, says he, a little after, *pax lætior?*—*Pax Augusta in omnes, &c.*—He also says, c. 129, that Tiberius had, before the 16th year of his reign, enabled many senatorials to recover their dignity—*Quotiens populum congia-*

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riis honoravit, senatorumque censum, *cum id senatu auctore facere potuit*, quam libenter explevit; ut neque luxuriam invitaret, neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui?

V. Maximus seems to say, ix. 11, that the same undisturbed manner of transacting public and private business continued both before and after the death of Sejanus.—Itaque stat pax—valent leges—sincerus privati ac *publici officii tenor* servatur.

Philo says, p. 769, that the profound peace which prevailed every where on the accession of Caius was the result of the prudent government of Tiberius—and, p. 780, F., that no king or autocrat was more venerable in his old age—and again, p. 783, F., that he enjoyed the blessings of peace to the end of his days.

To the evidence of those several cotemporary writers on this point, may be added that of Suetonius, and Josephus, and Dion.

Suetonius has related several things which tend to impress us with the idea that no cause of disagreement could, at any time, have existed between Tiberius and the Senate.—But of any notorious disagreement between them he says not a word.—Chapter 28, 29, he relates what he said, on several occasions, of the freedom of debate—and, last of all, what he said to all the senators on this same point—*Dixi et nunc et sæpe alias P. C. bonum et salutarem principem, quem vos tantâ et tam liberâ potestate instruxistis Senatui servire debere, et universis civibus sæpe, et plerumque etiam singulis: neque id dixisse me poenitet, et bonos et æquos et faventes vos habui dominos, et adhuc habeo.*—Chapter 47, he reluctantly acknowledges what Paternus, we have just seen, asserts Tiberius often did for reduced patricians.—And, chap. 67, he also informs us that he cautioned them not to be forward to

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swear to observe the future acts of any one—*Similem se semper fui futurum: nec unquam mutaturum mores suos, quandiu mentis sanæ fuisset: sed exempli causâ cavendum, ne senatus in acta cujusdam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset.*—Chapter 31, he says, that Tiberius was, on two or three questions, outvoted—and, that he was not, in the least, displeased at it—*ne questus quidem est.*—Chap. 33, he, it must be confessed, seems to apprise us that Tiberius controled the debates of the Senate much, and, that he even annulled one or two of their decrees—for he there says, that he, *at first*, only annulled their decrees when they were manifestly wrong—*Ac primo eatenus interveniebat ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque et constitutiones quasdam senatus rescidit.*—which, surely, seems to imply that he, afterwards, took much greater liberties with the Senate.—But where does Suetonius speak of the liberties which he took with the decrees of the Senate?—May we not expect to find, in the sequel, some account both of the liberties which Tiberius took of this kind, and of the remonstrances of the Senate?—Not a word, can we perceive, has he said of either of those points—unless, he may be supposed to have alluded to the former by what he says, 37, of the abolition of all the *asyla*—and, 26, of the refusal of Tiberius of divine honors.—Lastly, chapter 37, he says how careful he was to preserve the public peace from being disturbed by either domestic or foreign enemies.

Josephus, A. xviii. 4, describes him as having been ready to oblige a senator at any time before the expulsion of the Jews—and, as having been, after that time, remarkably inattentive to the most interesting concerns—and, also, as having, when he might have lived in quiet, distracted himself about futurity.

Dion, l. 57, p. 606, B. C. D. E., relates how very modestly Tiberius behaved, on all occasions, and especially in the Senate, till the death

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of Germanicus—and, p. 607, A., how he would not suffer them to address him by any other appellation than that of president, and, how often he used to say—*Δεσποτης μιν τῶν δαλων αυτοκρατωρ δε τῶν στρατιῶτων τῶν δε δη λοιπῶν προκριτος ειμι.*—Again, he says, l. 57, p. 608, B. C., that Tiberius expended very little on himself, very much on the republic—much on foreign states and individuals—and that he enriched many senators who were reduced to poverty—*τῶν τε βουλευτῶν συχνης πενομενης και μηκετι μηδε βελευειν δια τῆτ' εθελοντως, επλυσισεν.*—Dion also says, l. 58, p. 623, B., that the Senate, in the year 782, or the 15th or 16th of Tiberius, used to send delegates to him from their body—and, C., that he, in the next year, 783, received their delegates, headed by Gallus, with the greatest cordiality.

On reconsidering what those several writers have said of the conduct of Tiberius, in various parts of his reign, towards the Senate, and of his endeavours to preserve the peace of the republic, both internally and externally, who can think that he, at any time, disagreed greatly with most of the Senate and for no assignable reason—and, especially, during his residence at Capreæ?—And, when he was overcome with excessive grief?—And yet Tacitus, we find, who says, that he was particularly revered by the Senate till the beginning of 781, also says, that he did disagree with the Senate in that year, and most inconceivably, and without acquainting us with the reason.—He moreover seems to say that this disagreement continued till the death of Sejanus.

Let us be a little careful in noticing what Tacitus says of the behavior of Tiberius and the Senate towards each other, immediately before this breach happened, in hope of being able to discover what may have been the cause of it.

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He, we find, has recorded several instances of the mutual amity of Tiberius and the Senate, in the course of the year 780.—Tiberius, he says, was, in that year, all beneficence, and, the Senate all gratitude. He also says, that Tiberius, in the former part of that year, shewed not the least sign of fear or suspicion, for when the fire had consumed a great part of Mount Cœlius, Tiberius, says he, quite unsolicited, sent for the sufferers and relieved them—*famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione, aut proximorum precibus, ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia juverat.*—By a subsequent report of Tacitus (67) Tiberius must have returned from Campania to do this—but, by that of Suetonius, iii. 40, he must have returned from Capreæ to do it.—However, in either case, he, it seems, must, at that time, have been quite undisturbed by any apprehension for his safety.—Towards the conclusion of that year he, says Tacitus, iv. 67, having finished all that he had to do in Campania, retired to Capreæ, full of suspicions, and of a temerity to believe.—Why, if the people and the Senate had been so recently obliged by him, and had expressed their obligations so openly, he should have tormented himself with suspicions of any kind, we cannot conceive—and, what he could have meant by a temerity of believing we do not attempt to discover.—Tacitus seems to hint that those suspicions and this temerity of believing had some sort of a reference to the conduct of Agrippina and Nero, whom, he seems to say, Tiberius had then imprisoned.—But Paterculus, who wrote at the time, and addressed his work to one of the then consuls, who, a little more than five years after, married Julia, one of the daughters of Agrippina,* informs us, iii. 130, that Tiberius was compelled to grieve, to be indignant, to blush, on their accounts.—And Pliny, viii. 40, seems to render his report credible.

* Tac. Ann. vi. 15.

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Again—In the beginning of the year following—viz—781, Tacitus relates another remarkable instance of the devotedness of the Senate to Tiberius—an instance, which, if true, as he reports it, must render it still more surprising that Tiberius should, at the time, have entertained any suspicions about the disaffectedness of any of his subjects. It is the strange story of the miserable end of Titius Sabinus, a knight, and the almost only remaining adherent of the family of Germanicus, who, in the year 777, had been, with C. Silius, a man patronized by Tiberius,* arraigned for treasonable practices, in favor of that family. This Sabinus, says Tacitus, had been again so imprudent as to suffer himself to be decoyed into a repetition of his former offence.—Four of the Senate, says he, suspecting his disloyalty, contrived to draw him into a conversation about Tiberius and his treatment of the family of Germanicus, and, taking the advantage of what fell from him, lodged an accusation of treason against him.—The rest of the Senate, on hearing the charge, immediately proceeded to pass sentence on him, and, on the same day, to execute him.—Tiberius, subjoins he, thanked them for what they had done, and complained that his life was in danger, that he suspected the conspiracies of his enemies—*adjecto, trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias*.—And what if he was afraid his life was in danger, and that he suspected the conspiracies of his enemies?—Why should he have complained of it to the Senate? Had he not, as Dion says, l. 57, p. 606, C., privy counsellors?—Who could have thought that Tiberius would, so very soon after his voluntary trip from Capræ to Fidenæ, and there making himself so very accessible to all, have uttered such a complaint?—Or, after having rendered himself so very popular to all the people of Rome, and to the Senate, by his beneficence to the sufferers by fire on Mount Cœlius?

* Paternulus ii. 130.

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In the course of the same year, says Tacitus, iv. 74, the Senate, on account of some unaccountable internal alarm, (which he represents as having been infinitely greater than that caused by the revolt of the Frisii) sought to obtain, by *adulation*, the interference of Tiberius.—But what was the cause of this internal consternation he, it seems, though he complains of a want of materials to write about, does not say.—He only leaves us to conclude that Tiberius himself, an exile as he then was, and the slave of indolence and vice, and worn out with age and grief, could alone counteract it.—But what cause of internal alarm could have terrified those who smiled at all terrors?—And, at a time too, when only the extremity of the empire was disturbed?—Or could have been of such a nature as to make the conscript fathers think of nothing else but of offering incense to a woe worn old man, who had retired from the bustle of government in disgust, and and was then living far away in obscurity?—And then, on finding that he did not perceive the fragrance of their precious oblation, as to make them think of sending petition after petition to him to request an interview?—Not at Rome, but, if he chose, far off on the coast of Campania?—And then again, finding their petitions disregarded, as to make them resolve on sending a deputation to him, consisting, not of one or two of the principal people of Rome, but of men of all ranks, and mostly of the commonalty—of whom a large party attended—*magna pars plebis*.—Those were all the partisans of Sejanus—*anxii erga Sejanum*.—And this last step, our historian intimates, the Senate took, without being sure whether those delegates would be permitted to have access to him, though that, it seems, was to be their grand object—*crebrisque precibus efflagitabant, visendi sui copiam facerent*.—This numerous motley party, says he, proceeded from Rome, in commotion as it then was, and uncertain as it then was what was the object of the commotion, without any assurance of

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being permitted to see Tiberius, or even their idol Sejanus, and without any hope of accommodation for the night, to the coast of Campania.—When they arrived there they remained *a day and a night* in the open air, when they were given to understand that all their endeavours to obtain an interview would be of no avail, and that it was expected they would remain there no longer.—This made most of them return, as, it seems, they went, in trepidation.—Some few, however, were, it seems, permitted to have a transitory sight of, at least, one of their objects, but whether Tiberius or Sejanus he does not say. Those few, says he, were so mal-apert* that they (notwithstanding the scene of misery which they had just left, and to which they were immediately about to return,) rejoiced at their superior good luck.—But, subjoins Tacitus, they soon paid dear for their ill-timed exultation.

This is the account which Tacitus, who complains that to record what happened in the reign of Tiberius, was, as it was so very barren of interesting events, but an inglorious task, has thought proper to give us of this, as he says, internal pavor, which, he says, disturbed so unexpectedly and so unaccountably the peace of Rome, and of that city only, after the execution of Sabinus, in the 14th year of Tiberius. A consternation of which Caius, the successor of Tiberius, if we may believe Suetonius, does not seem to have been aware—for he, says Suetonius, iv. 31, complained that his reign was not likely to be rendered memorable by any remarkable occurrence, as those of his two predecessors had been—that of Augustus having been rendered memorable by the defeat of Varus—and that of Tiberius, not by this internal terrific phænomenon, but the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ. And a consternation which seems to have affected neither Seneca nor

* Male alacres.

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Pliny in any remarkable degree—for the former, though he has taken notice of the death of Sabinus, yet he says not a word of the internal alarm which took place at Rome immediately after.—And the latter, in his *Consol.* to Marcia for the loss of Cordus and Metilius, which, it seems, he wrote *three entire years* after the death of Cordus, who, Tacitus says, *iv.* 34, died no one knows how long after the year 778 was begun, and therefore, no one knows how long after the year 781 was begun, but before the death of Livia, says—that she had not seen any public or private calamity—*nulla publica clades conspicitur, nulla privata.*

As this report of Tacitus then seems, by the manner in which he has related it, to be not a little questionable—and, by the account of Caius, Pliny, and Seneca the elder, to be not very credible.—Let us proceed to enquire if he may not, by his acknowledged prejudice on a certain point, have been induced to make a false representation of a most notorious event which happened in the course of this very year.

It should be recollected that he had, before *Ann.* i. 73, as good as promised us to let us know how Tiberius had, with exquisite craft, favored the irruption of a most grievous pest—and how it had been shortly after repressed, by, no doubt, some other power—and, how it then again blazed forth, notwithstanding all opposition, and hurried away every thing—and, all this, he promised to let us know in the case of two Roman knights.—Have we not then somewhat like a reason to suspect that he means here to fulfill his promise?—In what of year the reign of Tiberius can we think it likely to have happened, if not in this?—What but this most grievous pest could have caused this most extraordinary pavor?—And what could this most grievous pest have been but the execrable superstition, which, he says, *A.* xv, was also, *for the present*, repressed?—And then burst forth, not only

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in Judea, but in the city too?—Does not Seneca, the elder, appear to advert to this very thing in his work against superstition, by speaking of the practice of that most impious of people, who had, after they had been conquered, vanquished their antagonists?—And does not his son too appear to allude to it both in his cviii. epistle and in his work de Benef.?—In the former work, he, we have seen, speaks of the sacred rites of foreigners being discussed—and, in the latter, of the frequent and almost public rage of accusers having, in the reign of Tiberius, wasted the Roman state worse than any civil war.

By comparing this account of Tacitus with those other two in the same work (the last of which evidently describes the bad effects which followed the introduction of the Christian religion into Rome,) and with those of the two Senecas, why should we not suspect that they all allude to the same event—viz—the introduction of Christianity into Rome, which, we have found, began to be preached in the 14th year of Tiberius—the very year in which, Tacitus says, this unaccountable panic seized the inhabitants of that city.

As this then appears to have been, in all probability, the fact, let us attend to what one or two early Christian writers say of the year when the faith of Christ was first published at Rome, and of the reception which it then obtained there and a year or two after.

Clemens, of Rome, says, in each of his works—viz—in his *Recog.*, his *Hom.*, and his *G. P.*, that the report of our Lord's miracles and resurrection reached Rome in the spring of the year in which he suffered—that fresh accounts continued to arrive every day—that what they had heard was, at last, rendered certain by the arrival of

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duly accredited witnesses.—This, it should be observed, is no more than what might be expected, as Luke, we find, says, Acts ii. 10, that there were at Jerusalem, at the Pentecost, next after the ascension, “strangers of Rome, Jews, and Profelytes”—and, as, we find, he also says, Acts vi. 9, that there was a synagogue appropriated at Jerusalem to the use of the libertines.—Clemens also says, and in each of those works, that the faith was, in the course of that summer, preached at Rome, in the forum, by Barnabas, and that so great was the opposition which was made to him, on that account, that he was, before the winter came on, obliged to withdraw from Rome, and to retire into his own country.

This most remarkable event then, in the 14th year of Tiberius, Tacitus, if he does not mean to allude to it by this internal panic, which he so obscurely and unsatisfactorily describes, entirely overlooks. As then this event appears to have happened in the 14th year of Tiberius and to have been the cause of much dissention, among the populace, in that year, how are we to be sure that it may not have been the cause of pretty nearly as much between Tiberius and the Senate? And, of course, of the retirement of Tiberius to Capreæ, and of that immense cavalcade to the coast of Campania, in order to get a sight of him—and of his refusing to grant them an interview?—What other event could have made him, who, but the year before, hastened from Campania, if not from Capreæ, to Fidenæ and Rome, to assist the sufferers in each of those places, (and those of Rome un-asked,) and who had accepted the thanks of the Senate and of the people for his very beneficent conduct on those two occasions, to be so very deaf to all their supplications now?—Especially if any thing like a tumult was likely to ensue?—Are we not told by Suetonius, c. 37, that he, in the 10th year of his reign, took all possible care to prevent tumults,

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by stationing the prætorian cohorts at Rome?—And are we not told, by the same writer, c. 65, that he was, even after the death of Sejanus, so fearful of tumults, that he even ordered some vessels to be in waiting to take him to some other country?—In short—what other event but this, could, if the Senate and the people were so very obsequious to him, on two occasions, in this very same year, have made him afraid of his enemies?—That this very event did, soon after it took place, make a very wide breach between Tiberius and the Senate; why should we not conclude from what Tertullian said in the apology which he delivered to the emperor Severus, in favor of the Christians of his days, chapter 5.

In that apology Tertullian says—“ There was an ancient statute, “ that no God should be consecrated by the king, unless the Senate “ consented to it. Marcus Æmilius applied to them about his idol “ Alburnus. Tiberius therefore, in whose reign the name of “ Christians was first known in the world, on a report being made to “ him, from Palestine, of this deity, communicated it to the Senate, “ in such a manner as to convince them that he was prejudiced in “ favor of the deity; but the Senate, not approving it, rejected the “ proposal; but he remained of the same persuasion, threatening *periculum* to the accusers of Christians.”—Now if the Senate had not encouraged the accusers of Christians, why should Tiberius have

* Dion says, l. 57, p. 619, D., that Tiberius, v. c. 777, in order to overawe the people of Rome, collected the guards, which before that time used to be dispersed all over Italy, into one body at Rome.—εν δ' ἔν τῷ τότε ο Τίβε- ριος την τῆ δορυφορακῆ γυμνασίαν τοῖς βαλευταῖς, ὡς περ ἀγνοῶσι την δυναμιν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξεν, ὅπως καὶ πολλὰς σφᾶς καὶ ἐρρωμένους εἰδόντες, μᾶλλον αὐτον φοβῶνται.— Tacitus, iv. 2, says nearly the same.

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thought of threatening them with any sort of punishment?—Some of our moderns have thought that Tertullian must have erred in this matter, so incredible does his report appear to them!—That he should have adopted this report on mere rumour is not likely—especially, if, as Eusebius says, Eccl. hist. ii. 2, he was a man most learned in the Roman laws, and otherwise famous, particularly for his knowledge of Roman concerns.—That he should have asserted it at Rome, before an emperor, in the course of the second century—and, on such an occasion, if it was not a well-known fact, is what nobody can believe; and, that he should have recorded his having asserted it on that occasion, if it was not an acknowledged fact, is what no Christian will believe.—Why then should our moderns not believe it?

In what year of Tiberius this dissention, concerning the dignity of our Lord, and opposition concerning his followers, took place between Tiberius and the Senate, Tertullian does not say; but that it took place before the expulsion of the Jews from Rome—that is, as Philo says, before the death of Sejanus—or, before the expiration of the 17th year of Tiberius, why should we doubt?

Presently after the death of his mother, this superannuated monarch, suspicious of his enemies, as, Tacitus says, iv. 67, he always had been, and fearful of any attempt on his life, as, he also says, iv. 71, he then was, and so, as Suetonius says, 65, continued to be three years after; no longer, says Tacitus, v. 3, adhered to those very excellent measures of policy, which he had, till then, religiously followed; but, as if released from restraint by the death of his mother, began to be lawless and oppressive—*Ceterum ex eo, prærupta jam et urgens dominatio*—to the great astonishment and terror of all ranks of people, no doubt. But though Tacitus tells us that Tiberius, after the death of his mother, began instantly to be so very lawless and oppressive, yet he

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also, we find, and, to our no little astonishment, tells us, v. 2, that Fufius, one of the then consuls, who had been patronised by Livia, used, immediately after her death, to divert the conscript fathers with sarcastic sallies against Tiberius—is gratiâ Augustæ floruerat aptus alli-ciendis fæminarum animis; dicax idem, et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est.—But what have we here?—Fufius, the consul, who had been so much indebted to Livia for his preferment, notwithstanding he knew what had happened to Saturninus and Sabinus for a similar offence—notwithstanding he had been so terrified but a few months before by the internal alarm, and had been obliged to return from Campania in trepidation—notwithstanding he knew how domineering and oppressive the government of Tiberius was become—notwithstanding he could not have been consul but by the favor of Sejanus—notwithstanding all this, used to make the conscript fathers, who, but a year before, had expressed their gratitude to their prince, who, but a few months before, could not extricate themselves from their political terror without his help, and, who, then were obliged to return from Campania, in trepidation, merry, when they were assembled on business, with laughing at him, though he had always been so good a prince! though he then was so aged!! and so depressed with grief!!! Can this have been possible?—And in the beginning of the year too after those very fathers had, and by the evidence of four of their own body, put to death a knight for only speaking against him—and, had, but a few months before, judged it necessary to have recourse to adulation, in order to prevail on Tiberius to remove from them the cause which had so terrified Rome internally.

Immediately after the interment of Livia, a letter of accusation, says Tacitus, v. 3, against Agrippina and Nero, was sent by Tiberius to the

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Senate, in which, says he, there was no charge against them of any attempt at innovation—the only thing with which they were each charged was, says he—*he* of juvenile love and immodesty—*she* of being haughty: this charge, says he, the Senate heard with dread and silence.—A few, at last, of the servile party, proposed that they should enter into a debate on those articles.—Great altercation ensued on the proposal, when, at last, Junius Rusticus, who was appointed, by Cæsar, as a sort of recorder of the acts of the Senate, and who was therefore supposed to be acquainted with his private views, either by a fatal impulse—*fatali quodam motu*—or, with a bad design—*seu pravâ solertiâ*—unmindful of imminent danger and fearful of what might not happen, put an end to further debate by advising the consuls not to propose the question—and the reason which he gave for his advice was this—*differebatque brevibus momentis summa verti posse, dandumque interstitium poenitentiae fenis*—v. 4. At the same time, says Tacitus, the populace surrounded the house—and nothing bad was perpetrated—*patratum*—that day.—At the same time Sejanus, who was reported to have been the onsetter of all this, with indignation exclaimed that the Senate held the *grief* of their prince in contempt—that the people were become disaffected—that new *conciones* were heard and read—new *consulta patrum*—that nothing now remained for them but to fly to arms, and to arrange themselves under the command of those *whose standards they bore*.

Tiberius, not at all discouraged by all this unexpected opposition from the Senate and the people, repeated his charge against his daughter-in-law and her son—reprimanded, by an edict, the populace—complained to the fathers that his imperial majesty had been publicly disobeyed by the finess of one man—and, demanded the entire exercise of his prerogative.—Nor did they deliberate any further,

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lest they should decree, not indeed the extreme, for that was forbidden, but lest they should testify that they, who were prepared for revenge—*ad ultionem*—were hindered by the power of the prince—*Nec ultra deliberatum, quo minus non quidem extrema decernerent, id enim vetitum, sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur.*

Here then we perceive was something like the beginning of an open war between Tiberius and the Senate supported by the people. Whether it was then suppressed and whether it continued any time our enigmatist has not been permitted to afford us any information.—But if we attend to what Dion says, l. 58, p. 622, A. B., we shall think that we have reason enough to conclude that this political conflict was soon ended—for he there says, that the Senate were, before the end of that year, (782) disposed to adulate both Tiberius and Sejanus, as they did to procure their mediation when the internal panic seized them—*πρεσβεις τε, ιδια μεν η γερουσια, ιδια δε οι ιππεις, το, τε πληθος εκ τε των δημαρχων και εκ των αγορανομων των σφετερων προς αμφοτερας αυτες επιμπον και ηυχοντο υπερ αμφοιν ομοιως, και εθυον, και την τυχην αυτων ωμνυσαν.*

On the whole—as the writers, who lived under Tiberius, say not a word of any disagreement between him and the Senate, and Paterculus affirms, positively, that the Senate had, before the 16th year, differed among themselves, and that Tiberius had, before that year, reconciled them to each other—as Suetonius does not say that any disagreement took place between him and that body, before the 16th, and that Tiberius, after the fire on Mount Cœlius, gave up all concern for the republic; and, as Dion says, positively, that the Senate were, in the 15th year, all adulation—as all this is said—why should we be ex-

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pected to believe with Tacitus, that a disagreement between him and them began in the 14th year, and was, by the opposition of the Senate to some important affair, widened in the 15th year, and continued, no one knows how much longer, after that?

CHAPTER XII.

The worship of Tiberius enforced against his will.

DION says, l. 57, p. 607, B., (in which page he continues to treat of the transactions of the last year of Augustus—viz—U. C. 767,) that Tiberius was, in every thing, very popular—*καὶ ἔτω γὰρ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικὸς ἦν*—and, in particular, because he would not permit any thing extraordinary to be done on his birth-day, (16th November) nor any one to swear by his fortune, and if any one was accused of having sworn false by it he took no notice of it.—This he says in the former part of that page, and, in the latter, he, after having repeated how popular he was, proceeds to give a still stronger instance of his moderation, or, rather of his reverence for the Gods—*Τὰυτὰ δὲ ἐν δημοτικῶς διώκει, καὶ ὅτι.*—For those two instances just mentioned he obtained popularity, and for this also—he would not permit any fane—*τεμενισμὰ*—to be *then* erected to him—*τότε γὰρ ἐτεμενισθῆναι*—nor any statue to be set up in honor of him; and moreover, continues Dion, he, *im-*

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mediately, strictly forbid—*αντικρυς γαρ παραχρήμα απεγορευσε*—any city or private person to do it—*μητε πολει μητ' ιδιωτη τετο ποειν*—to this prohibition he, says Dion, subjoined this exception—“*Unless I shall permit it*”—*προσεθηκε μεν γαρ τη απορρησει οτι—αν μη εγω επιτρεψω*—to all which he, continues Dion, superadded—“*And that I never will*”—*προσεπειπε δε οτι—ου επιτρεψω*.—This prohibition, Dion, it has been observed, seems to intimate, Tiberius published before the consulship of Sex. Ap. and Sex. Pomp. expired, and therefore it seems to imply that the worship of Tiberius was, in the year 767, pretty general.—After having said all this, Dion proceeds, immediately after, to tell us what we did not expect to hear—viz—that Tiberius, though popular in every thing, was, by some, treated contumeliously—and, by others, irreverently—and, by others, again worshipped in defiance of his prohibition; and, what we still less expected to hear, that those who treated him with irreverence were prosecuted for it—and that he took not the least notice of either the one or the other—*επει το γε υβρισθαι προς τινος, και το ησεβησθαι προς τινος (ασεβειαν τε γαρ ηδη και το τοιςτον ωνομαζον, και δικας επ αυτω πολλας εσηγον) ηκιστα προσεποιετο*.—Dion not only says all this, but he still proceeds further to say that Tiberius would not receive any written accusation of this sort from any one—*υδε εστιν ην τινα τοιαυτην εφ αυτω γραφην προσεδεξατο*.—And all this he seems to say, as Tacitus also does, ii. 50,* Tiberius did out of respect to Augustus—*καιπερ τον Αυγουστον και εν τωτω σεμνυνων*.—Dion, at last, concludes this paragraph with this remark—viz—that though Tiberius was, at first, so tolerant of such offences, yet, in process of time, he destroyed many on that account—*το μεν γαρ πρωτον υδεναι υδε των επ εκεινω τινα αιτιαν λαβοντων εκολασεν, αλλα και εγκληθεντας τινας, ως και επιωρηκοτας την τυχην αυτη, απελυσε: προιοντος δε τω χρονε, και πανυ πολλες θανατωσε*.

* *Damnarique si qua de Augusto irreligiose dixisset: In se jacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari.*

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Dion, then we find, here informs us that Tiberius, who, at first, was very popular in every thing, and especially for having forbidden divine honors to be paid to him, was, notwithstanding his great popularity, calumniated—and, that he paid no attention to it—he also informs us that, notwithstanding he had forbidden any one to worship him, many persisted in doing it—and, strange to say, that even those who, in compliance with his order, would not worship him, were prosecuted for it—and, that, in process of time, he himself caused very many of those who swore falsely by his fortune, or, of those who treated his majesty with irreverence, to be put to death for it.—Now when does Dion say Tiberius himself began to prosecute for this offence?

He informs us, l. 57, p. 615, E., that Tiberius, as soon as he had been, by the death of Germanicus, released from all restraint, became, suddenly, as bad as he had before been good; and, among other acts of cruelty, prosecuted many for doing or saying any thing against himself or his mother, as well as against Augustus, as deities—τα τε γαρ αλλα αργριως ηρξε και ταις της ασεβειας δικαις, ει τις εχ οσον ες τον Αυγουστον, αλλα και ες αυτον εκεινον την τε μητερα αυτου πραξας τι η και ειπων ανεπιτηδειον επικληθη δεινωσ επεξηγει.

But what?—Did the Romans begin to worship Tiberius almost as soon as he began to reign—and so generally that he thought it necessary to forbid the practice publicly?—And, did they persist in so doing, notwithstanding he so expressly forbade it?—If they did so, must they not, all over the empire, have considered him as an object of great reverence?—And for what could they have looked up to him as a God but, as Philo observes, for his most eminent vir-

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tues?—And, did this most eminently virtuous emperor, after having rendered himself so very popular on all accounts, and, especially, by forbidding any one to worship him—did he, after having done this, in process of time, suffer many to be prosecuted and punished for obeying his own mandate?—And a few years after, put those who treated his majesty with irreverence to death?—So Dion, we find, says here.—But what says he, l. 57, p. 617, B., of a prætor, who was, in the course of the third year after—viz—775, accused, by some person or persons in the Senate, of having been guilty, *either by word or deed*, of irreverence towards Tiberius?—He there says that the prætor immediately left the house, and divested himself of his robes of office, and then returned again, and pleaded to the accusation as a private person.—And what says he of Tiberius?—Does he say that he put this prætor to death?—He says, that Tiberius, who was present, was *extremely sorry for it*, and that he would hear no more of it—δεινῶς τε ηλγησε, και εκετ' αυτε ηψατο.—This Dion says in page 617, B., and in the next page 618, D., he says, that Tiberius himself, before the conclusion of the same year, used to punish others for neglecting his worship, when he, at the same time, used to neglect it too—κακ τειτε συνεβαινεν αυτω, παντα τε εκεινα, εφ οis τες αλλες ως και ασεβοντας εκολαζεν, αυτος ες εαυτον πλημμελειν, και προσετι και χλευασμον οφλισκανειν—but does he

* ἔτοι παντες ὧ Γαιε δια τας υπηργμενας ευεργεσιαις εθαυμασθησαν, και ετι νυν θαυμαζονται, και σεβασμῶ τε και των ανωτοτατω τιμων ηξιωθησαν.—Philo, ad C. 777, D.

τες θ' ιερεαι των Αιγυπτιων και Χαλδαιαις, και μαγυς, σοφια τινι διαφεροντας των αλλων, ηγεμονιας και τιμης τυγχανειν παρα τοis προ ημων ετω δε και των θεων ενα εκασον των χρησιμων τινος ευρετην γενομενον, τιμασθαι.—Strabo, i. 16.

† Tacitus says, iii. 70, that L. Ennius, a knight, was accused, in this same year, of having melted down a silver *effigies* of Cæsar, to make common utensils of it.—And, that Tiberius would not permit the Senate to consider it as injury to the republic.

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say that Tiberius punished them with *death*?—No, surely.—He only says—*ως και ασεβεντας εκολαζεν*—he chastised them as being impious towards himself.—This inconsistency, continues Dion, led some people to think that he was beside himself—*αφ ε δη και εξεσηκηναι τινες αυτον των φρενων υποπτευσαν*—but in this, subjoins he, they were mistaken, for, he did almost every thing else well—*τα γαρ αλλα και πανυ παντα δεοντως διωκει.*

In the next book (l. 58) there occur two other passages illustrative of this point—they refer to the events of the year 784—or, to what happened just before the death of Sejanus, for, in that year, Sejanus was put to death.—Let us attend to them too.

In the first which occurs, p. 623, D., he says, that the Senate sacrificed to the statues of Sejanus, as they did to those of Tiberius—*και τέλος και ταις εικοσιν αυτς, ωσπερ και ταις τς Τιβερις εθνον.*—And having said this, he abruptly proceeds to say that many *other* eminent men were destroyed—*εφθαρσαν*—but for what he does not say.—Among them, he says, was C. Rufus Geminius, who had been consul three years before—this person, he says, was accused of irreverence towards Tiberius—*ασεβειας γαρ ες τον Τιβεριον εγκληθεις*—and, like the nameless prætor before-mentioned, in the Senate, though without the knowledge of Tiberius.—Rufus, by the way of exculpating himself, produced his will, and shewed them that he had left Tiberius one of his executors.—But how could he, by such evidence, disprove the charge which was brought against him?—With it, however, the Senate seems to have been satisfied.—For, says Dion, he was then attacked on the score of effeminacy—*και μαλακίας αιτιαθεις*—and, before sentence was passed on him, he went home, and hearing the quæstor coming with it, he destroyed himself.

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By this then it appears that Tiberius was, notwithstanding his edict to the contrary, worshipped by the Senate—and, that they, without consulting him, prosecuted others for not worshipping him.—And, notwithstanding all this, he, says Dion, p. 630, A., refused to go amongst them, even though protected by a party under Regulus.

Let us now then attend to the last passage in which Dion mentions human deification—it occurs, p. 626, B., where he says, that Tiberius sent a letter to the Senate concerning the death of Nero, whom he had, three years before, accused, in the Senate, and whose cause, (notwithstanding he, as well as his mother, had, as Paternulus says, ii. 130, been the occasion of much grief, shame, and indignation to him,) had then been, as Tacitus also says, v. 4, in spite of Tiberius and the Senate, by the populace, vindicated with flying banners.—In this letter, he did not, as usual, mention Sejanus with any term of respect; and, in it, he, glancing at the deification of his prime-minister, and, perhaps, that of the Senate too, forbade them to sacrifice to any *man*—
 και προσετι και απειπε μητ' ανθρωπων τινι θυεσθαι.

By this evidence of Dion then, as well as by that adduced first, it appears that Tiberius forbade, not only the worship of himself, but that of any *man*.—And it almost appears, from the case of the prætor and of Rufus, that the Senate took it upon them, several times, to enforce the worship of him, contrary to his own inclination.—That this was probably the case, appears to be rather likely from what Dion says followed in that letter—viz—μητε επι τη̃ εαυτε̃ τιμη̃ τι χρηματιζεσθαι, διοτι πολλα εκεινω εψηφιζετο. τ̃το γαρ απηγορευει μεν και προτερον, τοτε δε δια τον Σηιανον ανενεωσατο.—To all this Dion subjoins this remark of his own—Tiberius would not permit that to be done to another which he would not to himself.—But, notwithstanding this prohibition, they, as Dion says, p. 629, D. E., presently after voted him several things,

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which he always refused—viz—the title of father of his country—the celebration of his birth-day with ten horse races—and a senatorial banquet.—All which he again refused, and again forbad them to vote him any such thing.

Let us now hear what Suetonius says of the time when Tiberius forbad any worship of himself.

He says, iii. 58, that Tiberius soon after the death of Augustus, and therefore several years before the death of Germanicus, was very strict in punishing any irreverence shewn to the divinity of Augustus—but of his punishing any one for an offence of that kind against himself he says not a word; on the contrary, he says, iii. 26, that Tiberius, *after he was delivered from the fear of competitors*, and, therefore, we presume, after the death of Germanicus, forbad the Senate to decree him temples, priests, and flamens.—What?—Does he, indeed, say that Tiberius, *after the death of Germanicus*, forbad any one to worship him?—If so he flatly contradicts what Dion, as we have just seen, says, at p. 615, E., for Dion there says that he then prosecuted many for doing or saying any thing either against himself or his mother, as well as against Augustus, as deities.*—Which then are we to believe?—Dion, who says, that Tiberius, in the year 767, forbad any worship of himself, and that he, in the year 772, prosecuted many for not worshipping him?—Or, Suetonius, who says, that he, in the year 772, forbad the Senate to decree him any thing of a religious nature?—Let us attend to all that Suetonius says of this matter, in order to satisfy ourselves whether he does really assert that Tiberius began to forbid any worship of himself exactly at the time when Dion says he began to prosecute others for not worshipping him.

* Does not this imply that Tiberius did not, as Tacitus says, A. i. 72, behave disrespectfully to his mother.

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In the former part of chapter 25 he points out the causes which made Tiberius hesitate to begin his reign; and then mentions the way in which he contrived to frustrate the expectations of Germanicus, who from expecting to be his successor, expected to be his colleague—*Simulavit et valetudinem, quo æquiore animo Germanicus celerem successionem, vel certe societatem principatus opperiretur.*—And, in the latter part of that chapter, he proceeds to say how he quelled the seditions and defeated the machinations of Clemens and Libo.—Having premised this in the 25th chapter, he begins the 26th with these words—*Verum liberatus metu*—which evidently refer to what he had been saying in the 25th, as may be made to appear still more clearly by adverting to the evidence of Tacitus* and Dion; the latter of whom says, in several places of l. 57,† that Tiberius stood in awe of Germanicus, as long as he lived, and, after he was dead, did every thing that was bad.

Suetonius then by—*Verum liberatus metu*—evidently means that he did the several things mentioned in this chapter after the death of Germanicus.—Having now satisfied ourselves on this point, let us attend to what follows.—First, he prefaces his account as Dion, we have just seen, does, with an eulogium on his extreme popularity—and then, a little after, he says, that the Senate were inclined to decree him temples, flamens, and priests—and, that he opposed it—that they would have placed statues and images to him among those of the Gods—and, that he would not permit it to be done.—*Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paullo minus quam privatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus, præter paucos et modicos non recepit. Natalem suum, plebeis incurrentem circensibus,*

* A. vi.

† p. 606, B., 610, E., 615, D.

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vix unius bigæ adjectione honorari passus est. Templâ, Flamines, Sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se poni: permisitque eâ solâ conditione, ne inter simulachra Deorum, sed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur.

The same line of conduct, it appears by what Suetonius says in the next chapter, Tiberius pursued till the year 775—the 8th or 9th of his reign.—He begins that chapter thus—Adulationes adeo averfatus est, ut neminem Senatorum aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit: consularem vero satisfaciendam sibi, ac per genua orare conantem ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus; atque etiam, &c.

Suetonius and Dion then, we find, appear to disagree in their reports concerning the time when Tiberius forbade people to pay him divine honors, most materially.—Suetonius says that he did it when Dion says he began to prosecute people for not doing it—and Suetonius also seems to say that he continued to disapprove of the practice a long while after.

Let us now see whether Tacitus appears to agree with either of those historians respecting the time when Tiberius prohibited this practice to be continued.

Tacitus, neither says, with Dion, that Tiberius, in the first year of his reign, forbade any one to worship him—nor, with Suetonius, that he did so, in the fifth or sixth.—On the contrary, it appears, by what Tiberius said in the Senate, in the 11th year of his reign, when delegates from further Spain applied for permission to erect a temple to him, as those of Asia had done the second year before, that he had not then forbade any one to worship him; for if he had, would he not,

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instead of adverting to the motives which then induced him to acquiesce—viz—obedience to the example of Augustus, and respect to the will of the Senate, have much rather have adverted to his prohibition?—And as to the many instances of compulsion, which, Dion says, he used to make people worship him, Tacitus, we find, as well as Suetonius, is entirely silent.—On that occasion, Tacitus, we find, says, that he, who had before been mighty to despise honors, and who longed for an opportunity to combat the insinuations of those who imputed his acquiescence in the practice to ambition, publicly, in the Senate, deprecated a continuance of the practice in the following speech :

“ I know, conscript fathers, that I am generally accused of inconstancy,
 “ for not having opposed the cities of Asia when they petitioned for this
 “ very thing.—I shall now therefore acquaint you why I was then silent,
 “ and say what I mean to do for the time to come.—As the deified
 “ Augustus did not oppose the founding of a temple to himself and to the
 “ city of Rome, at Pergamos, I, who consider all his deeds and sayings
 “ as laws, followed a precedent already approved, and, the more willingly,
 “ because to the worship of me was annexed that of the Senate—quia
 “ cultui meo veneratio senatus adjungebatur.”—And was not his worship
 to be connected now with that of the Senate?—This, we have already
 observed, seems, by the account of Tacitus, not to have been thought
 of, for he only says—*Tiberio matrique ejus*.—Tiberius continued his
 speech thus—“ But as my acceptance of that honor once may be excusable,
 “ so to be adored in every province, as a deity, savors of pride and am-
 “ bition : besides—the rendering this honor common would be to detract
 “ from that of Augustus.—I acknowledge, conscript fathers, that I am
 “ mortal and of like frame as other men.—I wish you to testify; and
 “ posterity to remember it, that I think it enough to hold the chief place

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“ among you.—*Those who come after me will, I hope, believe me to have*
 “ *been worthy of my ancestors, careful of your affairs, unmoved by dangers,*
 “ *regardless of offences for the public welfare.—These are the temples*
 “ *which I would raise in your breasts—these the best and most lasting*
 “ *images—effigies.—As for the temples and statues of stone, if posterity*
 “ *reprobates the conduct of those to whom they are dedicated, they are*
 “ *despised as their sepulchres.—I therefore implore our allies and citizens,*
 “ *all the Gods, beseeching these to grant me, to the end of my life, a mind*
 “ *undisturbed, and a thorough knowledge of the laws, human and divine;*
 “ *and those to celebrate, whenever my dissolution comes, my actions with a*
 “ *kind remembrance.”*

Such is the report which even Tacitus has made of the speech of Tiberius, when delegates from further Spain applied to the *Senate* for leave to build a temple to him *and to his mother*, in the year 778.—A speech which evidently implies that the practice of worshipping both Tiberius *and his mother* was then extended all the way from the western coasts of Spain to Asia Minor—and, that the Senate sanctioned it—and, of course, that Tiberius was then in the highest repute all over the empire, though some, it seems, by the preamble of it, wondered that Tiberius permitted it.—A speech which implies that he had not before, notwithstanding both Suetonius and Dion affirm that he had, forbid the practice, and, which does not imply, in any part of it, that the Senate were included in the petition of those Spaniards.

To this speech of Tiberius, on this memorable occasion, Tacitus subjoins an assertion of his own—an assertion which, if true, destroys both his own testimony in the sequel of his history. as well as that of Dion, which we have been just considering—viz—and he persisted

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ever after—posthac—even in his private conversations, to express his contempt of such a worship of himself—to which assertion he adds the several opinions of the people on the subject—some, says he, attributed his refusal to *modesty*—many to a spirit of *opposition*—some to *littleness of mind*—but, amongst all, it is not a little remarkable that he does not say that any one derided the absurdity of worshipping such a monster of lust and cruelty—nor, that some thought him deficient in his usual constancy, by having neglected hitherto to put a stop to it, a remark which, Tacitus says, he made in the very beginning of his speech.—After having observed what those three classes of the people thought of his conduct in this affair, our historian proceeds to prove, by a few examples, how preferable the opinion of those who imputed his refusal to *littleness of mind*, was to either of those of the other two.—And to the whole narrative, he, in the last place, superadds a moral reflection, of no doubt his own too—viz—Contemptu famæ, contemni virtutes.—By which, if he did not, in opposition to those, who, as Tiberius himself observed in the beginning of his speech, thought him deficient in his usual constancy for having neglected so long to put a stop to it, mean to convey an indirect censure on the conduct of Tiberius for having, on this occasion, opposed it, it is not easy to see what he meant.—But instead of answering his design, does it not appear to imply that Tiberius began, about the 11th year of his reign and 66th of his age, to despise virtue?

From this speech of Tiberius to the Senate, on the application of the Spaniards for leave to erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother, u. c. 778—and, in the 11th year of his reign, we learn that to his worship the Asiatics had annexed not only that of the Senate, but that of his mother too—and, that he then disclaimed, in the Senate, the least pretension to divine honors, if not that some blamed him for

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not having opposed the worship of himself before—consequently, why should we not infer, from the former point learnt, that he, as he appears to have objected only to his own worship, had no objection to that of his mother—and, from the latter, that he flatly contradicts what both Suetonius and Dion say of the time when he first opposed his own deification.—And, by the subjoined assertion of Tacitus, we also learn, that Tiberius ever after persisted, even in his private conversations, to express his contempt of the worship of *man*.—Consequently, why should we not infer from this, that Tacitus flatly contradicts not only what Dion says of the numerous prosecutions which he instituted against people for not worshipping him; but also what he himself says, as we shall come to see presently, in the end of this and the next book.—And, lastly, from what he says of the opinion of one class of people out of three, we further learn, that he opposed it out of *modesty*, that is, as appears by his speech, out of reverence to the deity, as, it seems, his friends also thought.—And consequently why should we not suppose that his mother, three years after, objected to her own consecration or immortalization, out of the same motive—namely—*modesty*.

But what effect does this speech seem to have had on the minds of the Senate and of the people?—Do they appear to have been deterred by it from thinking this mortal man entitled to divine honors?—Would the Senate consent to have their partnership in divinity dissolved?—If not, how were those to act who thought that the refusal proceeded from a spirit of opposition?

In the spring of the year following that in which Tiberius objected to the request of the Spaniards, and, seemingly, but a few days before he went into Campania, that is, in the spring of the year 779, he, says Tacitus, 55, attended the Senate constantly—and, for many days

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—plures per dies—heard the claims of the inhabitants of several cities of Asia, who could not agree among themselves where the temple, to the Senate, to himself, and to his mother, which they had, three years before, obtained permission to build, ought to be built.—And did the cities of Asia contend for the honor of giving a scite to this temple the year after Tiberius had so publicly expressed his displeasure at the being worshipped?—And in his presence?—If they did so—may we not suppose that the Senate, who seem to have claimed the exclusive privilege of deciding in such cases, encouraged, if not the application, at least, the tedious litigation?—And did Tiberius, for so many days, sit still and listen to so contemptible a litigation?—So says Tacitus, who has taken care not to let us know what he said on that occasion—though he has taken care to let us know that he attended so constantly to obviate some report, and, if we mistake not, a report that had gone abroad that he intended to destroy Agrippina privately. What should have induced Tiberius to think of going constantly to the Senate, for the purpose of obviating such a report, we cannot imagine.

In the following year—viz—780, Tacitus says, A. iv. 64, that the senator Junius had an effigies of Tiberius in his house—and, that that effigies was supposed to have stopt the rage of the fire on Mount Coelius.—It also appears, from what Tacitus says further in that chapter, that the Senate and Tiberius were, at that time, on the best of terms; and, from what Paternulus says, ii. 130, that Tiberius and all the other ranks of the people were on exactly the same terms.—Is it not then rather strange that the senator Junius should have had an effigies of Tiberius in his house, when Tiberius had, at the time, thrice prohibited it, and once publicly?—And still, as Tacitus says, continued to express his contempt of it?—And is it not still stranger that the Senate should have decreed then that the part of the city

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which was then burnt should be called Augustus—and, that the sacredness of the place, in which the Gods had manifested so much honor to the prince, should be increased.—Did this proceed from extreme deference or extreme opposition?

In the next year—viz—781, Tacitus, we find, says, iv. 74, that the Senate were terrified with the apprehension of some very great undescribed internal political evil, which, he seems to insinuate, was worse than the revolt of a warlike people, and which, he seems also to intimate, it was in the power of Tiberius, who was then resident at Capreæ, and afraid to appear at Rome, to remedy, and that they therefore came to a resolution of trying to procure his interference by *adulation*.—What?—The Senate came to a resolution of trying to obtain the interference of Tiberius by adulation!—Was he ever before known to be negligent in his duty?—And did they not know how offensive adulation ever was to him?—And what sort of adulation did they think would be most acceptable to him?—scil—They, though engaged in the discussion of other points—*Ita quanquam diversis super rebus confulerentur*—decreed effigies to him and to Sejanus* around the altar of Clemency and that of Amity.—And did the Senate really decree effigies to him and to Sejanus, too around the altars of those deities, and persuade themselves that it was a species of adulation which he was most likely to relish?—Had they, as well as Tacitus, forgotten that he had ordered them not to decree him statues or images?—That he disapproved of the worship of himself but two years before?—Has not Tacitus before said that he *ever* expressed his contempt of the worship of himself?—They surely must have intended to insult him.

* Dion, l. 58, p. 623, B., seems to say, that Sejanus was not worshipped till the year 784, when the Senate discovered by the very respectful expressions which Tiberius had lately used concerning him how much he valued him.

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In the beginning of the year 785, says Tacitus, A. vi. 3, the people of Rome, having lately discovered the flagitious practices of Livia, proceeded to vent their indignation against her effigies and memory—or, perhaps he meant to say, her effigies which were intended to perpetuate her memory.—But what Livia could he have meant?—If Livia the mother of Tiberius, the Senate appear to have consecrated her in defiance of Tiberius.—But of what flagitious practices could she have been guilty?—And as to Livia the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, does not Dion inform us, l. 58, p. 628, D., that Tiberius put her to death, in the year 784, for being concerned in the murder of her husband? How then can any one suppose that he would have permitted effigies to be set up in remembrance of her.

The last evidence which we shall adduce from this author is from A. vi. 47, where he relates the story of Albucilla, a woman infamous for her manifold amours—*multorum amoribus famosa*—having been, in the last half of the last year of Tiberius, accused of impiety, and seemingly before the Senate—*defertur impietatis*—not to any God or Goddess—but of impiety to the prince—*impietatis in principem*.—A woman, infamous for her manifold amours, accused of impiety?—Most ridiculous!—And of impiety to that vicious old goat Tiberius? And before the Roman Senate too?—Most contemptible!—And would the conscript fathers attend to such a charge?—And, after the emperor had publicly protested against the practice of paying divine honors to himself, or, to any other person?—Why was she not accused before any particular magistrate?—This it seems she was not, but before the Senate.—But in what did her impiety consist?—In doing, or, not doing—in believing, or, not believing?—Who were her accusers, if more than one?—What penalty could the Senate inflict on her, in opposition to the will of the prince, against whom alone the impiety is said to have been committed?—And lastly—had she any accomplice?

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Her accuser, Tacitus seems to say, was her own husband—*cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo conjurationis* (observe, and not *impietatis*) *indice*.—Albucilla then was married, and, seemingly, to a senator, for, if not, why should her husband have thought of accusing her in the Senate?—S. Secundus then must be supposed to have been a worshipper of the prince—that is, of Tiberius, though he had, as Tacitus himself says, vi. 38, been, but a little more than a year before, represented by Trio, as an old dotard; and, as Suetonius says, iii. 45, been ridiculed, on the stage, as an old goat. And so must the Senate too, though he had, as Tacitus says, v. 2, been derided, in their presence, by one of the consuls, to the great diversion of the higher orders; and, as Dion says, l. 58, p. 633, A., been exposed by Lucius Sejanus, the prætor, on the 4th of the kal. of May, next after the death of his kinsman, who, in the Floralia, employed, in the day time, none but bald men; and, in the night, ordered all the link boys, of whom there were 5,000, that attended the theatre, to be shaved.

But did the impiety of Albucilla end in any conspiracy against Tiberius?—So, it seems by the expression which Tacitus has used, we are left to imagine.—If it did, she must have had accomplices. Who then were her accomplices?—Tacitus, in this chapter, mentions three—viz—Cn. Domitius, V. Marfus, and L. Arruntius: those, subjoins Tacitus, were men of the greatest rank—that is, patricians.—Those he mentions as having been connected with her, though not as accomplices with her in impiety to the prince, but only as conspirators and adulterers—*connectabantur ut conscii et adulteri ejus*. But of those it seems, Tiberius himself had no suspicion—*nullæque in eos imperatoris litteræ suspicionem dabant*.—Indeed Tacitus seems to intimate

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that Tiberius, their deified prince, was then *infirm*, and, it may have been, even ignorant of the offence of those noblemen if not of that of Albucilla—*invalido ac fortasse ignaro*.

But could it have been possible that the Roman Senate, or any officer belonging to that body, could have thought such an offence cognizable in a woman infamous for her manifold amours, especially after the emperor had publicly expressed his displeasure at the practice, and had continued so to do in private, and had even ordered that no human being should be worshipped. Had they not before permitted one of their own body to deride him in their presence?—And had not some of them signified their approbation of it afterwards by treasuring up his sarcasms in their memories?—And who, if Tiberius was ignorant of the matter, was the president of the committee appointed by them to take cognizance of the imputed offence?—scil—Macro, the præfect of the city—*Sed testium interrogationi, tormentis servorum Macronem præfedis, commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant*.—What?—Was Macro, who was the commander of the life guards, appointed by the Senate president of the committee who tried Albucilla for impiety towards his sovereign?—And did he, in order to prove her guilty of the offence, torture her servants?—Does not Tacitus say, in the next sentence, that Macro was a known adversary to one of her accomplices—viz—Arruntius?—And does he not also seem to say that most of the things (for it seems there were many) laid to his charge were without foundation?—And even forged by Macro? *Fictaque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium?*

But if Satrius Secundus was the informer, must there not have been something like a conspiracy between him and Macro, against Arruntius, if not against the whole party?—And a conspiracy too about we know not what?—And why were the slaves to be tormented on this

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occasion?—Whose slaves were they, if not those of S. Secundus?—And if they were his, what necessity was there to torment them for evidence against his own wife?—But what sentence was pronounced on Albucilla and her three impious accomplices or adulterers?—Of the sentence of Albucilla he says nothing—at least, in this chapter: and of the sentences of her paramours he also makes no mention. He only seems to intimate that their lives were in imminent danger—and, that Arruntius, fearing what might ensue, put an end to himself—*Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marfus tanquam in ediam destinavisset, produxere vitam.*—Arruntius was persuaded by his friends to procastinate, but refused to live any longer—and why?—Was he afraid of an ignominious punishment?—This does not seem to have been the cause of his deadly resolution. What then was the cause of it?—scil—it was then pretty well understood that Caius, who had received the worst education—*peffimis innutritum**—would soon succeed Tiberius†—and, that Macro, who was worse than Sejanus, would then have more power. And could this consideration have arisen in the mind of one accused of having committed adultery with an impious common woman?—And, especially, if he had been then likely to suffer for his having denied the divinity of Tiberius?—Besides—was it true that he had received so bad an education?—Or, was it then known, that he was to succeed Tiberius?—What says Suetonius and

* Suetonius says, iv. 10, that Caius lived with Livia till she died, and then with Antonia till he was 20 years old.

† Tacitus says, vi. 46, that Tiberius had not, a little before his death, fixed on his successor.—Suetonius says, iv. 19—*Sed avum meum narrantem puer audiebam, causam operis ab interioribus aulicis proditam, quod Thrasyllus Mathematicus, anxio de successore Tiberio, et in verum nepotem proniori, affirmasset—Non magis Caium imperaturum, quam per Bajanum sinum equis discursurum.*

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Josephus on the former point?—And what says Suetonius and Tacitus himself on the latter?—Suetonius says, iv. 10, that Caius ever remained with his mother till her banishment, then with Livia till her death, and then, with his grand-mother Antonia, till he was 20 years of age, when he was sent for to Capreæ, and soon after—viz—in the 21st of his age, (19th of Tiberius) was married to Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus, one, as Suetonius, iv. 12, and Dion, l. 59, p. 646, A., say, of the most noble men at Rome.—Josephus says, A. xix. 2, ε., that he received the best education, under Tiberius, and afterwards made a bad use of it.—αδελφῷ γὰρ παίδος ὑιῖ γέγονοι Τιβερίῳ, ὃ καὶ διαδοχὸς γίνεται μέγα ἀναγκασμῶς παιδείας ἀντεχεσθαι, διὰ το καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν διαπρεπεῖν, καὶ συνεφιλοκαλεῖ Γάιος, συγγενὲς τε ἀνδρὸς, καὶ ἡγεμόνος εἰκῶν ἐπίτολῶις, ἐπρωτεύσε τε τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτῶν, ὃ μὴν ἀντισχῆιν οἷα τε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγόντα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὀλεθρὸν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας.—And as to the other point—Tacitus himself has, only the chapter immediately before that in which he begins to relate this story of Albucilla, (46) said that Tiberius, after a long while deliberating about a successor, finding himself unable to determine, left it to fate. And Josephus, we know, says, A. xviii. 7, θ., that he, just before his death, ordered Euodius to bring his grandsons to him in the morning, with a resolution to appoint him who should be brought first.

But what sentence was passed on Albucilla for her impiety to her prince, and for her numerous adulteries?—viz—she was, *by the Senate*, ordered to prison, after having attempted to kill herself.—Albucilla irritō ictu semet vulnerata, jussu *senatus* in carcerem fertur. And was this the whole of her punishment?—If it was, she seems to have suffered a less severe punishment for her impiety to her prince, and her infidelity to her husband, than her paramours expected to receive for having been too familiar with her.

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But were the three before-mentioned the only partakers of her impiety, or, rather iniquity?—In the next chapter—viz—the 48, he enumerates two or three others—viz—Grafidius Sacerdos, and Pontius Fregellanus, and those two, he says, were men of the greatest rank; for Grafidius Sacerdos, he says, was a *prætor*, and Pontius Fregellanus, a man of senatorial rank.—But neither of these, it seems, by what Tacitus says, was an accomplice in any other sort of impiety than in fornication—*Stuprorum ejus ministri*. Consequently, this Albucilla, who was accused of impiety against the old goat Tiberius, must, as Tacitus has, in the beginning, intimated, have been, what we call, a common strumpet.

And what punishment, does he say, was inflicted on these ministers of her lewdness?—scil—Grafidius Sacerdos, was, *by the Senate*, banished to an island—and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled from their assembly.

Such is the unintelligible and ridiculous account which Tacitus, the prince of historians, (as he has been, by our illiterate Literati, usually called,) has given of this affair.—An account which, at least, implies that certain persons, if not most of the Senate, still worshipped Tiberius—and, in defiance too of his edict to the contrary—and of the contempt which he always used to express of those that worshipped him; and which also implies that they did not consider him such a monster of lust, and cruelty, and irreligion as Suetonius represents him to have been. All this, this account pretty clearly implies, if not, that the offence of Albucilla was of a very different nature from that commonly meant by adultery or impiety to Tiberius.

We find then that those three historians—viz—Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion agree in acknowledging that Tiberius did, in some part of his reign, prohibit the worship of himself, but in what year he did it,

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no two of them are agreed. We also find that Tacitus and Dion say that the people continued to worship him notwithstanding his prohibition, and notwithstanding he, ever after, expressed such contempt of the worshippers of man; and, that the Senate appear to have prosecuted many, even when he was afraid to trust himself among them, for not worshipping him—and, among them, a notorious adulteress of rank and her senatorial paramours, who were conspirators with her not against his earthly throne but against his heavenly.

Having now established those three important facts—viz—that Tiberius was, in his life time, worshipped by most of his subjects—that he, both publicly and privately, condemned the practice as being most absurd and impious—and that the Senate, after all, persisted in making the people worship him. Let us now proceed to enquire what one or two other writers say of their continuing to worship him. And first let us hear what Seneca says of the practice of prosecuting folks for not worshipping him.

Seneca, de Ben. l. iii, c. 26, says, that as a man of prætorian rank, named Paullus, was once partaking of a certain supper—cænabat in convivio quodam—he had a ring on his finger with an image of Tiberius on it in relief. With this ring on his finger he was, by a well-known informer, observed to take an urinal in his hand, in a state, as appears by the sequel, of intoxication. Of this Maro, a notorious informer, who happened to be of the party,* took notice, and immediately went and informed against him as having been guilty of impiety towards Cæsar, and cited the rest of the company in support of his charge. This most ridiculous story, Seneca relates as an instance of the inconceivable mischief which informers did under Tiberius.

* How Maro, a notorious informer, happened to be of one of this prætorian party, Seneca has forgot to tell us.

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A story which appears to be rendered not a little questionable by what Tacitus says, iii. 70, of the conduct of Tiberius when L. Ennius, a Roman knight, was, in the year, 775, prosecuted, in the Senate, for a similar offence. Tiberius, says he, objected to his being prosecuted on such a charge—but Atejus Capito, zealous for the divinity of his sovereign, contended that the Senate had a right to proceed—that Tiberius did wrong by endeavouring to stop the prosecution—that so great an instance of *maleficence* ought not to be permitted to pass unpunished—that Cæsar might do as he pleased in cases which concerned himself only, but that this was one which concerned the Roman people. All this, says Tacitus, Tiberius heard, but still would not give up the point.

We have now examined what Dion and the Roman writers have said of the worship of Tiberius, and we seem to have discovered that they have given an unsatisfactory, if not a contradictory, account of it, but an account which tends to make us apprehensive that the Romans must have held him in the greatest veneration, and that he had too much good sense to be pleased with it, if not an account to induce us to think that some most extraordinary change of a religious nature must have taken place in him. Let us now hear what Philo says of his worship.

Philo, in his leg. 769, B., speaks of the very unusual happiness which overspread the whole world at the death of Tiberius—this happiness, he says, 769, G., continued during the first 7 months of Caius—in the 8th month, says he, Caius was taken dangerously ill: on his recovery, says he, 770, E., there was an universal rejoicing—but, says he, F., this did not continue long, for, says he, 776, D., he, soon after, murdered the young Tiberius, Silanus, and Macro—and the two last for giving him wholesome advice. After he

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had murdered those three he aspired to be a God—*οκ επι ηξις μιν εν τοις τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως οροις, ἀλλ' ὑπερεκυπτε σπαρδαζων θεος νομιζεσθαι.*—Having taken this conceit into his head he, E., instantly got the people to acquiesce in the supposition that he was a God—first of an inferior order, and then of the first order. Philo then proceeds to shew that his actions were neither like those of a Demi-God, nor, like those of a God, *because the actions of all Gods were supposed to have benefitted mankind*, p. 777, D ; whereas Caius, he asserts, had done nothing but to make them miserable, F.; thereby confessing that the very unusual peace which overspread the world at his accession, did not originate with him, but with Tiberius. But what?—Was Caius not the sole cause of the most profound and universal peace which pervaded all mankind at his accession, and was he the sole cause of this most afflicting reverse in the happiness of the whole world?—And by aspiring to be a God?—If he was, for this sole reason, the cause of their misery—may we not conclude that it is very likely, that Tiberius was, for the opposite reason, the cause of their excessive happiness?—Philo, having premised all this, proceeds, at 780, D., to subjoin that the Jews were the principal sufferers, for says he, p. 780, E., all the rest of the world had, though very reluctantly, submitted to adore. The consequence of this insubmission of the Jews to his Godship, says he, p. 781, A., was that a most destructive and an undeclared war was carried on against our nation—*μεγιστος εν και ακηρυκτος πολεμος επι τω εθνει συνεκρητειτο*—which, says he, B., as soon as the *Alexandrians* (who, subjoins he, had long wished for the opportunity) perceived, they, *as if acting by the authority of the emperor*, proceeded to persecute the Jews in the most cruel manner. And, as he says, p. 782, E., by the connivance of the governor, who could alone have put a stop to it in an hour—*ωρα μια.*

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Now when does Philo appear to say this persecution of the Jews of Alexandria happened, if not, as we have already seen, he himself pretty clearly seems to say, soon after the murder of Silanus and Macro?—That is—in the year 792, or, before the 2d year of Caius was ended. Early in that year, says Dion, l. 59, p. 652, C., he revived prosecutions for impiety—*Γαίος μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπὼς, καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγὼν*—which, he had, as Dion also says, p. 642, D., before prohibited. And who was then the governor of Egypt, but, as Philo says, Flaccus?—Let us attend to what he says of the persecution of the Jews of Alexandria under Flaccus.

Philo says, p. 761, D., of Flaccus, that he was six years the præfect of Egypt—viz—from 785, when Severus was removed, till 791; and of those six years, he says, p. 748, D., that he was nearly five under Tiberius; and, that he was, during the life of Tiberius, not only by far better than any of his predecessors, but really very excellent.—Philo also says, that Flaccus permitted a person, named Lampoon, who, he seems to say, p. 749, F., was the head of one of the several parties that persecuted the Jews of Alexandria, to be prosecuted for irreverence to his patron and friend Tiberius—and, that he not only did so, but that he permitted the persecution to be continued two years*—*Λαμπῶν μὲν ἀσεβείας εἰς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα δίκην σχῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ διέτιαν τριβόμενῃ τῇ πραγμάτων ἀπειρηκώς*.—And did Flaccus, who was so incomparable a governor, who, as Philo says, p. 761, A., 764, D., was one of the chief friends of Tiberius, and who therefore must be supposed to have heard him often express his contempt of such worship, and also to have heard, before he went to Egypt, that he had commanded that no man should be worshipped; (for, according to Dion, Tiberius for-

* If Tiberius be thought to have countenanced this proceeding how is it that he left the world in so profound a peace?

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bad the worship of any man u. c. 785,) did Flaccus, indeed, after all this, permit such a persecution, and in Egypt above all places?—And before the death of Tiberius?—And did he also permit it to be continued two years?—Did he not know, as well as Philo,* that Tiberius had punished several of his præfects for their misconduct in their respective provinces?—And that all the rest had taken warning by it?—Why then did not Flaccus?—Philo also says, p. 749, D., that Flaccus was, after the death of his best friend Macro, and in the course of the year 791, the second of Caius, quite broken-hearted and unfit for business, and that the enemies of the Jews, who, he says, were classed under several heads, (among whom he, it should be observed, says, were the followers of Lampoon and Taraxipolis,) taking advantage of this paralyfis of Flaccus, prevailed on him to permit them to persecute the Jews, p. 750, A. Soon after, says Philo, p. 750, B., Agrippa passed through Alexandria in his way from Rome to Palestine to take possession of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, where he was grossly insulted by the populace, and, without the least interruption from Flaccus. Encouraged by the passiveness of their governor, says Philo, p. 752, the enraged populace rushed early in the morning into the theatre, and there tumultuously agreed to erect statues in the oratories of the Jews. And what, as the Jews were protected by the laws, could have disposed them to think of committing this outrage? Especially as Agrippa, the favorite of Caius, was then present, and, as Philo says, p. 758, E., undertook that Caius should be brought acquainted with the whole proceeding?—scil—they pretended to do it

* ενιοι γαρ και επι Τιβεριο και επι τε πατρος αυτου Καισαρος των διεποντων τας επικρατειας, την επιμελειαν και προσασιαν εις δυνασειαν και τυραννιδα μεθαρμουςαμενοι, τας χυρας ανεπληταν κακων ανηκεσων, δωροδοκiais, αρπαγαῖς, καταδικαις των μεν ημαρτηκοτων ελασεσιν και φυγαῖς, των δυνατων ακριτοις αναιρεσιν, ης μετα τον ορισθεντα χρονον της αρχης, επανελθοντας εις Ρωμην, οι αυτοκρατορες λογον και ευθυνας των πεπραγμενων ητων, και μαλιτθ' οποταν προσδυσαιντο αι αδικηθειςαι πολεις.—Philo, in Fl. p. 578, F. 9. A.

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out of respect to Cæsar, because *he* could not be prosecuted.—καὶ τὰτ' εἰδοτες, οὐκ οὐτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσιν κατασοφίζονται τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκαλυμματα ποιησάμενοι, ὥς προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἐπατιῶν ἔθεμιτον. B—But would they have presumed to commit so flagrant an outrage in the name of Cæsar, if they had not, by some means, been informed that it would be agreeable to Cæsar?—What says he in his Leg. on this point?—He there says, p. 783, F., that the Alexandrians were the most inveterate enemies of the Jews, and, that when they heard that Caius had commanded people to worship him they were emboldened to profane the synagogues of the Jews—that they erected in them statues to Caius, and in one of them a statue set in a chariot, to which were joined four horses of brass, which had formerly been dedicated to the great-grandmother of the last Cleopatra. A practice, continues he, to which they were, above all people, always addicted. It was therefore out of zeal for the worship of Caius that the Alexandrians proceeded to profane the oratories of the Jews. And consequently Caius must have ordered himself to be worshipped in the second year of his reign, and before Agrippa went to his kingdom, as Josephus also attests, A. xviii. 7, *id.*

The worship of Caius then was, by the account of Philo, instantly attended with the most grievous persecution of the Jews, and profanation of their oratories at Alexandria; why then, if Tiberius had enjoined the worship of himself, was not that also attended with the profanation of their places of worship at Alexandria also?—That Tiberius was not worshipped by the Alexandrians, notwithstanding what Philo says of the prosecution of Lampoon, is plain both from what he himself says immediately after, in the same work, and from what he, in the sequel, represents Agrippa as having said to Caius.

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He says, immediately after—perhaps they, that is, the Egyptians, will say, that as the Cæsars are greater than the Ptolemies, so tis but fair that the former should be honored more than the latter. A most ridiculous reason! For why then had not Tiberius,* to whom Caius was indebted for every thing, the same honors paid to him?—A prince, who, after a reign of 23 years, did not leave any thing like the appearance of war, either in Greece or Barbary, but lived in the constant enjoyment of the blessings of peace till he died. And yet Tiberius, after all this, *was not so honored.*

In the sequel, Philo represents Agrippa, p. 799, F., as observing in a deprecatory epistle to Caius, when he was afraid to appear in the presence of his offended Godship, that Tiberius had, through the whole course of his reign, maintained the temple service—and, that he had, in particular, continued the oblation of a bull and two lambs. But of Caius having observed in reply how many he had prosecuted for not worshipping him, he says not a word.

Lastly—Josephus says of this same Agrippa, A. xix. 7, γ., that he was a remarkably zealous observer of the law. And Philo, in his Leg. says, that he was overcome with horror when he heard from Caius, his pupil in the system of tyranny, for whose sake he had been imprisoned, and by whom he had been liberated, that he had given orders for his statue to be set up in the temple. But if his religious notions would not permit him to appear in the presence of so impious a character, would not the same principles have kept him from begging to be permitted to visit Tiberius, if he had claimed divine honors and had prosecuted many for not paying them?—Josephus, we find, says, A. xviii. 7, δ., that he, on his return to Italy, sent to Tiberius, then

* Does not Philo, by this, seem to deny that divine honors were ever paid to Tiberius.

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at Capreæ, to know if he had any objection to see him—that Tiberius, with all kindness, instantly desired him to come, and, when he arrived, received him with all imaginable cordiality—gave him apartments in the palace, and desired him to undertake the instruction of his grandson. Now as Agrippa was so scrupulous an observer of the law, would he, if Tiberius had pretended to an equality with God, have desired to be admitted into his presence?—Would he not have been deterred from residing in his house by the fear of being pressed to partake of things offered to idols?—If not of other things forbidden by the law?

CHAPTER XIII.

Tiberius why and when lampooned.

WE have seen, CHAP. vi, that Tiberius was, notwithstanding what Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion say of him, most eminently exemplary, great, just, and humane, till he went to Capreæ. And we have also seen, CHAP. xii, that he was, always, almost universally worshipped for his beneficence to mankind—and, at last, contrary to his will. If then he was so excellent a prince as to have been thought worthy of divine honors, and such honors were constantly paid to him during the whole of his reign, and in the latter part of it in opposition to an edict which he published forbidding it to be done—who would expect to hear any writers say that he was vilified by any of his cotemporaries?—And for his cruelties and unnatural lust?—Especially, as not one of his cotemporary historians, Roman, Jewish, or Christian, has made the least mention of his having been lampooned, or, of his having, in the least, deserved it. We are informed by Tacitus, iv. 11, that most of the writers who lived after the days of

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Tiberius, fought for every thing scandalous to say of him.—*Neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus exstitit, ut Tiberio objectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent, intenderentque.*—Now what those writers, whose works are lost, may have said of Tiberius, we know not; but of this we seem to be pretty sure, that neither Josephus nor Juvenal, who had both very good means of being well acquainted with his character, have said any thing to lead us to suppose that he did any thing reprehensible. Indeed if he had done any thing very reprehensible, would not Juvenal have taken care to satyrize him for it?—Have we not then some reason to question this report of Tacitus?—And the more so, as, we find, he himself acknowledges that the government of Tiberius was very good till the ninth year, or, till the death of Drusus—and, as we have also seen, that he himself allows that Tiberius left Rome, according to his own predetermination, and, that he remained at Capreæ voluntarily.

That most of his predecessors then were fond of aspersing the character of Tiberius appears to be not true. But Tacitus himself, we find, and one or two others have, to our no little astonishment, asserted that he was commonly lampooned; and, to our inconceivably greater astonishment, he himself says, that the practice of lampooning him was continued during almost the whole of his reign.—Let us attend to what Tacitus and each of those other two say of this most unusual practice—of the persons who did it, of the time when they did it most, and of the reason or reasons why they did so—and, for the purpose of satisfying ourselves whether their accounts appear to agree or to disagree. And first let us attend to what Tacitus says on those points.

The first instance which occurs in the history of this writer is A. i. 72, in the end of which chapter he says—Tiberius was exasperated by some verses, made by some anonymous authors, lashing his cruelty, his

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pride, and his contentions with his mother.—Hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata, in sævitiam superbiamque ejus, et discordem cum matre animum.—In the beginning of the chapter he, it should be observed, had said—that the people had *often* offered him the title of “*father of his country*”—and, that he had as often refused it—and, that he used to say, on such occasions, that all things in this life are uncertain, and, that the more he had, the greater was his danger.—Nomen Patris Patriæ Tiberius a populo sæpius ingestum repudiavit: neque, &c.:—cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictans: non tamen ideo fidem faciebat civilis animi.—As then Tiberius was, after he became a monarch, even by the evidence of Tacitus himself, i. 12, eminently exemplary in private life—and was, in the course of the year following, so frequently importuned by the people to take the title of “*father of his country*,” and expressed himself with so much diffidence on those occasions. And as Tacitus also says, i. 80, continued afterwards to hate vice. Why should we be expected to believe that he was, even then, both cruel and proud?—And that, even then, anonymous versifiers took the liberty of lashing him for those vices? Does not Tacitus himself say, iv. 1, that in the beginning of the 9th year he began either to be cruel himself, or to give others the power of being cruel?—And does he not again say, iv. 57, that he retired to Capræ on purpose to conceal his cruelty?—And, as to his pride, does not Tacitus himself say of him, iv. 38, that he refused the most respectful title that could be conferred on him—and, that he refused it again and again?—And, does he not inform us that the people were, every where, fond of deifying him?—Not for his bad qualities, surely, but for his good.* And does he not also inform us, iv. 38, that he objected to his being deified—and, that some attributed his refusal to

* Philo says, Legat. p. 777, D., that the beneficent only were deified.

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modesty, some to *diffidence*?—If he was so very proud, would he, as Dion says, l. 57, have been so very popular?—And, as he also says, have continued so till the death of Germanicus?—And, as he moreover says, highly extolled—μεγαλως και προτερον επαινεμενον.—And, had that been the case, would Suetonius have said of him, iii. 26, that he, even after the death of Germanicus, lived, in all respects, like a private citizen. Out of the very many and the very great honors offered to him, accepting only few and the least.—Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paullo minus quam privatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus, præter paucos et modicos non recepit, &c.* Nothing then can have been more untrue than that Tiberius was so soon both cruel and proud—and, as to his disagreements with his mother have we not already, CHAP. viii, had sufficient proof that there is not the least foundation for the charge?—But, besides those several instances of misrepresentation already noticed, there remains still one, if not two others—viz—his presumed irritability at seeing the contents of those libellous publications, grounded on the presumed fact that he did see them. Tacitus himself says, in several parts of his history of the reign of Tiberius, that he was so far from being moved at those anonymous publications, that he not only took no notice of them but even despised them;† and that this appears to be true, why may we not conclude from this undeniable fact that no writer has told us that he endeavoured, by the means of accusers, to discover the authors. And as to the presump-

* That Tiberius continued of the same disposition to the end of his days, who can doubt, that knows what Suetonius says, 29, of his affability—40, of his accessibility—and, 76, of his choice of witnesses to his will.

† See note, §. at p. 84.

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tion of his having condescended to read them, by whom were they, as booksellers were not then in fashion, conveyed to him?—As then every one of the particulars contained in this infamous report appears, by the evidence of all preceding writers, and even of Tacitus himself, to be untrue; what reason have we to believe either Tacitus or his numerous learned admirers in other cases—especially concerning the *gravissimum exitium* mentioned in the very next sentence, as introduced by the art of Tiberius?—Let us proceed to see what Tacitus says of the defamers of Tiberius in the three next books.

He says, ii. 50, that Apuleja Varilia was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia—and, that Tiberius would not suffer her to be tried for what she was said to have spoken against himself.—*In se jacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari.*

Again—he says, iii. 49, that Lutorius Priscus (who, it seems by the account of Dion, was a senator,) was, in the end of the year 774, and in the former part of the 8th of Tiberius, while he was absent from Rome, accused, before the Senate, of having said that he had written some verses on Drusus, while sick, for which, if that prince were to die, he should be better rewarded than he had before been for those he had written on Germanicus—and, that the Senate,* without the knowledge of Tiberius, attended to the charge, and condemned him. Tiberius, on hearing of this precipitate proceeding, was very much displeased, and ordered that, for the time to come, no condemned person should be executed within ten days after condemnation.

* We meet with, in this same book, c. 57, 65, 70, three other instances of the zeal which the Senate manifested for the credit of Tiberius—and in the next c. 47, 69, two more.

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In the next year—viz—775, Tacitus does not mention any instance of a similar nature—but Dion, we find, has, among the events of that year, mentioned a most remarkable instance—viz—of one Ælius Saturninus, who, from his name and from his having been tried in the Senate, appears to have been a person of great if not the greatest rank, having been cast headlong from the Capitol for having written some scurrilous verses on Tiberius.—Let us then leave Tacitus, for a while, and attend to what Dion says of this Ælius Saturninus.

Dion says, l. 57, p. 618, C. u. c. 775, that Ælius Saturninus was, after the death of Drusus, (that is, after the 9th year of Tiberius was pretty far advanced, for he, says Tacitus, iv. 8, was, in that year, poisoned by Sejanus,) and before the commencement of the 10th year, accused of having written some, not such as they should be, verses —ἐπη τινὰ ἐκ ἐπιτηδεια—against the emperor—that he was, in the Senate, tried for the offence, and found guilty—but what his sentence was he does not say—he only says, that Tiberius himself, who, as Dion had before, l. 57, p. 607, E., said, never before regarded what any one spoke or wrote against him, and especially against his divinity—who, as Suetonius says, (28) used, even in the Senate, to deprecate the cognizance of such offences—and who, as they both say, had selected twenty privy counsellors from among the first families at Rome—caused him to be precipitated from the Capitol.

But was it possible that any one, knowing how severe the Senate had been towards Lutorius Priscus, and how nobly Tiberius had behaved on that occasion, could, in so short a time, have written against him?—Does not Tacitus say that he was an excellent prince till the death of Drusus?—And that he from that time only began to be

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cruel?—And does he not say, iii. 59, iv. 8, that when Tiberius, the year before, mentioned the infirmities of his age, and his past services, as an excuse for not attending the Senate, they acquiesced in that excuse?—And does he not, moreover, say, that Drusus, who was then become, by age and experience, qualified to transact all public business, died?—And does he not say, iv. 15, that Tiberius, before the end of that same year, suffered two other grievous losses—viz—that of his grandson Drusus and his long tried friend Lucilius Largus?—For the loss of his only son, he, says Josephus, A. xviii. 7. *α.*, grieved so very much that he was not able, for a long time, to bear the sight of any of his son's companions. And, continues that same writer, for that reason, Agrippa, who had been one of the most intimate of them, was obliged to leave Italy. If now Tiberius was so much affected at the loss of his only son, may we not well suppose that he was not a little more affected by the loss of that son's son, and of his long tried friend, in the course of that same year?—How then can it be supposed that any one could, in that same year, have been so unfeeling as to aggravate his misfortunes?—And especially as he does not appear to have given any proof of his depravity?—Or, that he would, in that year, have put any one to death only for writing a few paltry verses—and, especially one who appears to have been related to two of the most noble families in Rome, if not to Sejanus?

However if it be true that Saturninus was, by the order of Tiberius, precipitated from the Capitol, for having written verses against him, may we not suppose that no one attempted to write verses, or, to do any thing else to offend him after the execution of Saturninus?—Especially, as Tacitus, we find, says, that, in the 9th year of his reign, he began to be either a cruel tyrant himself—or, to depute others to be his vicegerents in tyranny—*ævire ipse, aut ævientibus*

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vires præbere?—And yet Dion, we find, not only says that such was the fate of Saturninus for having written verses against him, he also subjoins—“ *I could enumerate many more who were put to death for the same offence.*”—Πολλά δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτοτροπα γράφειν ἔχοιμι, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξιοιμὶ, τὸτο τε ἔν ἐν κεφαλῇ εἰρησθῶ, ὅτι συχνοὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀπώλοντο—leaving us to think that those many were executed after the horrid affair of Saturninus, and before the commencement of the 10th year of his reign. Dion subjoins that Tiberius prosecuted many, not only, for what they wrote, but, for what they said, and even, for what they *thought*. And from this very circumstance some, says he, suspected that he (and not those satyrical scriblers) was beside himself.—ἀφ' ἧ δὴ καὶ ἐξεσηκέναι τινες αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν υποπτεύσαν.—But notwithstanding some, from this circumstance only, thought that it was so, others, says Dion, observing most other things that he did, thought that he was not so, for, says he, he, who after the death of Germanicus did scarce any thing well, now again did almost every thing well—τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διώκει—of which general rectitude of conduct he immediately subjoins two most remarkable instances.

But, could a prince, who did almost every other thing well, have been capable of putting many, for such trifling offences, to death?—And, were many others indeed so infatuated that they would not take warning by the fate of Saturninus?—But continued still to write against their often acknowledged common *father*?—Who but madmen would have thought of writing against the father of their country, when he did almost all things well?—And especially after he put only one to death for it?—Now if it be true that, not only Saturninus, but many others were put to death for writing, speaking, and thinking reproachfully of Tiberius, may we not expect to find that Tacitus has mentioned a few of those executions, and especially that of Saturninus?

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Let us now then proceed in our search of what Tacitus says of this matter in the remaining part of the reign of Tiberius.

Tacitus does not relate this shocking story of the execution of Saturninus for writing a few scurrilous verses on Tiberius, which Dion, we have seen, says, happened in the year 775, neither does he say that any one was prosecuted for writing against him in that or the following year; but in the year 777, he says, iv. 31, that C. Cominius, a knight, made some verses on Tiberius, and that Tiberius, at the request of his brother, who was a senator, forgave him. But what?—Did this knight, only two years after Ælius Saturninus had, for writing against Tiberius, been thrown from the Capitol, presume to write against him?—And was he, after all, forgiven by Tiberius?—And at the request of his brother, who was a senator?—Had not Ælius Saturninus any friend who could intercede for him—scil—Saturninus who, as Josephus says, A. xviii. 4, ε., was the friend of Tiberius, and procured the expulsion of the Jews—or, Ælius Sejanus?

Again—he says, iv. 34, that Cremutius Cordus was, in the year 778, accused of having said, in his annals, that C. Cassius was the last of Romans—and, that he made an animated defence, and, then went and (to our no little astonishment) starved himself.

By the three preceding instances quoted from the third and fourth books of the annals of Tacitus, it appears that Tiberius was not at all fond of punishing his slanderers—and, especially with death.—What then had Cremutius Cordus to fear from Tiberius?—Seneca indeed, *Consol ad Marc.*, acquits Tiberius of having any thing to do with this affair, and lays all the blame on Sejanus.—So far, indeed, is he from saying that Tiberius was the cause of the death of her father, that he proposes to her, when almost inconsolable for the loss of her son, the

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example of Tiberius when he had lost his only son. Now would he have recommended the example of Tiberius to her if he had been the cause of the death of her father?—Besides—he says, that Marcia was most intimately acquainted with Livia, and Livia, we know, Tacitus says, A. v. 3, was the only *perfuge* in such cases.

Again—Tacitus says, iv. 42, that Votienus Montanus was, u. c. 778, accused of having spoken contumeliously of Cæsar—that Tiberius was present, and heard all that was said of him in private—that he was much agitated, and could scarce be restrained from immediately entering into a defence of his conduct—(which surely implies that he was still concerned for his character, and therefore that he had not begun then to despise virtue,) and, lastly, that Votienus was found guilty of high-treason—but, that he was punished with death, Tacitus does not say.

In the two following years Tacitus does not mention any instance of this kind, but, in the year 781, he relates that incredible story of Sabinus who, Pliny, viii. 40, seems to say, was executed, not for speaking against Tiberius, but, for acting against him, and, with Nero, who, even Tacitus admits, iv. 67, was, but in the end of the year before, in the custody of a guard, and, was advised either to escape to Germany and to place himself at the head of the army in that country, or, to take refuge at the statue of Augustus in the forum—and who, as Paterculus says, ii. 130, had in the course of the two years preceding the 16th, been the cause of inexpressible uneasiness to Tiberius. The words of Pliny, in the place above referred to are these—*Sed super omnia, in nostro ævo actis populi romani testatum, Appio Junio, et P. Silio Coss. cum animadverteretur ex causâ Neronis Germanici filii in Titium Sabinum, et servitia ejus.*

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Again—Tacitus intimates, v. 2, that there was something in the character of Tiberius, at the death of his mother, very ridiculous—and, that Fufius, one of the consuls, soon after her death, used to make it his business to expose it publicly—and, even before the Senate—and, that the fathers, who, in the course of the two preceding years, had manifested the most abject subserviency to the will of Tiberius, were so far from being offended at the liberty which he took, that they used to enjoy it. But if Tiberius continued till that time to be a most excellent prince, (as we have seen CHAP. vi. he did) and, but a year or two before, had, by his solicited and unsolicited beneficence and affability endeared himself to all ranks of people, what writer would have thought of mentioning his singularities at this juncture especially?—And as having been exposed by any one at any time—and especially by one of his most trusty servants, and before his chief council?—What can we think of a consul who took this liberty of amusing himself with exposing publicly the defects of his sovereign, especially of one so good and so venerable?—And at a time too when he had just lost his superannuated mother?—Or, what can we think of the chief council of any realm who could sit and with pleasure listen to the sarcasms of any of their own body when levelled either at the person or private qualities of their sovereign?—Especially of a sovereign so situated as Tiberius then was?—Or, rather, what can we think of an historian who would endeavour to make us believe that the chief council of any realm, who had, during 14 years, been all submission to their sovereign—who had, but two years before, deferred the hearing of a matter of importance till his return—who had afterwards rendered him their thanks, in the most flattering manner, for his excessive beneficence—who, but the year before, manifested their subserviency to him, by putting the only surviving adherent of

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the family of Germanicus, in the most unjustifiable manner, to death—and who had, but a few months before, taken the most extraordinary trouble of going, in a body, a journey of two or three days in length, in order to get a sight of him, if not to prostrate themselves before him, would have suffered him to be so exposed in their presence?—And yet our enigmatist, we find, not only says that this used to be the case, but that Junius Rusticus too, a creature of Tiberius, took, at the same time, the liberty not only of advising the Senate not to attend to the complaint of their aged sovereign, concerning the conduct of Agrippina and Nero, (though every body, he admits, knew that he considered them as his mortal enemies,) but also of speaking of his patron with extreme disrespect. Tacitus also adds that even consulars took, at the same time, pretty nearly the same liberty with Sejanus. And all this, Tacitus also adds, and to our no little surprise, Fufius, Rusticus, and those consulars did at the very time when the government of Tiberius, by the instrumentality of Sejanus, became, as he says—*prærupta et urgens*.

Again—Tacitus says, vi. 29, that Mamercus Scaurus, who was of the Æmilian family, and therefore a man of the first rank, and an orator, but, of a bad character—*vitâ probrosus*—was, in the year 787, again—*rursum*—charged, and, seemingly by Macro, who pursued, as he says, the same arts as Sejanus, but more privately, of having, regardless of the fate of Saturninus, written a tragedy, in which he had aspersed the character of Tiberius. To this, he subjoins, that he was also charged by Servilius and Cornelius, professed accusers, of having been guilty of *adultery with Livia*, who, if not married to Sejanus, must have been a widow nine years before she died, and eleven years before

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the accusation of Scaurus—and, of having attended the sacred rites of Magi. For which of those offences he was tried, Tacitus does not say—he only says, that he anticipated his condemnation—*damnationem anteit*—that is we suppose, killed himself.

Let us now then again leave Tacitus, for a while, and attend to what Dion says of this Scaurus.

Dion, who also records this matter among the transactions of the same year, says, l. 58, p. 636, D. E., that the prænomen of this Scaurus was not Mamercus but Marcus Æmilius, and, that the tragedy, which he wrote, was like one of Euripides, called *Atreus*—and that the part of it which gave offence was an exhortation to the people to bear with the inconsiderateness, or, unadvisedness of their prince—*ἵνα τὴν τῷ κρατῆντος ἀβελίαν φέρῃ*.—Now if this tragedy, composed by Scaurus, contained no other reflection on the conduct of Tiberius than this, how can that prince be supposed to have been so much offended at it, as to have caused him to destroy himself?—And if a prosecution had then been commenced against Scaurus for having alluded to Tiberius in any part of this tragedy, why should Tiberius be said to have worried him to death before his trial?—Why would he not permit him to live till after his trial?—when he might have precipitated him, as, this same writer, we have found, says, he did Saturninus, a few years before, for nearly the same offence, from the Capitol?—Dion, however, assures us that Tiberius did behave so offensively to him, as soon as he had heard of the comparison between himself and *Atreus*—*μαθὼν ἔν τῷτο ὁ Τιβέριος, ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ τότε το ἐπος εἰρησθαι εἶπε Ἀτρεὺς διὰ τὴν μίαιφονίαν εἶναι προσποιησαμένου' καὶ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι, Καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς Αἰάντας αὐτὸν ποιήσω, ἀνάγκην οἱ προσήγαγεν αὐτοῖς ἀπολεσθαι*.—But Dion does not say that Tiberius was induced to behave so offensively to Scaurus merely because Scaurus had covertly advised folks to bear

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with his unadvisedness.—Dion says, that he was induced to behave so towards Scaurus because he had alluded to some impious homicide, or, rather perhaps feast which Tiberius was supposed to have made of a murdered person. And yet after having positively said so, he, immediately after, seems to say enough to make it questionable—viz—

ὅτι μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορήθη, ἀλλ' ὡς τὴν Λιβίλλαν μεμοιχεύκως.—This, we affirm, appears to contradict what he had said before, for by this it appears that he, as Tacitus, we find, says, was accused for his offence before some magistrate. Now if he was accused of this offence, and not of this only, but of having committed adultery with Livilla, why would Dion have us to think that Tiberius anticipated his condemnation by forcing him to become an Ajax to himself?—that he would not suffer his guilt to be made manifest?—when he might have put him to death publicly, either to that of Saturninus, or, to that of Sabinus.

But why should Scaurus be said to have been accused of having committed adultery with Livilla?—Was Livilla then alive?—Had she not then been dead more than two years?—And, had she not been a widow nine years, at her death?—And does not Tacitus say, iv. 3, that Sejanus was, before her husband was dead, too familiar with her? Dion not only says that Scaurus was prosecuted on this account, but that *many others* were punished on the same account—πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτήν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ συκοφαντίας, ἐκολασθῆσαν.—But if many had been punished on that account, did not Sejanus know it, and, of course, how very common she was?—Why then did he apply to Tiberius, in the year 778, that is, two years after the death of Drusus, for leave to marry her?—And why does Suetonius say, iii. 65, that he continued his suit till he was made consul—that is, till

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the year 784, when Tiberius, it seems, still gave him reason to hope that his desire would soon be accomplished?—And when if we may believe Tacitus, v. 6, vi. 8, it was accomplished. Will it be said that her infamous conduct did not come to light till the beginning of the year 785?—That is, as Tacitus says, vi. 2, some time after she was dead?—Those many then must have been punished, for having been too familiar with her, after the beginning of that year.

Scaurus then was, by the account of both Tacitus and Dion, accused, in the year 785, not only of having reflected, notwithstanding the fate of Saturninus and Sabinus, on the conduct of Tiberius, his then superannuated sovereign, in a tragedy, which Dion says, he entitled *Atreus*, but of having been guilty, with many others, of adultery with Livia or Livilla, who, Dion says, l. 58, p. 628, D., was, two years before, by the order of Tiberius, at the request of her own mother Antonia, put to death.

Tacitus also says, that Scaurus was accused of having attended the sacred rites of the Magi, who, he says, ii. 32, had, with the Mathematicians, been, in the year, 769, by the Senate, expelled from Rome.—Of his having attended those, Dion says not a word.

Those several charges then seem to have been of a very different nature from each other.—The first was of a political nature—the second of a moral—and the third of a religious.—A strange mixture to have been thought to be in one who undertook to reprobate the atrocity of his sovereign!—Let us proceed to enquire if they really were of three distinct sorts—and, whether they may not be made to appear to have been of pretty nearly the same.

First, let us enquire who was this *Atreus*, and what tragical event his history furnishes :

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Atreus, we are told, was the king of Mycenæ, and, as Strabo seems to intimate, i. 16, made so for his superior knowledge of the motions of the heavenly bodies. He was also, we are told, the husband of Europa, and the brother of Thyestes, who, we are also told, seduced Europa, and had children by her, one of whom Atreus killed, and, having dressed the limbs, placed them in a dish before Europa and Thyestes, at an entertainment. But how could Scaurus have contrived to reflect on the conduct of Tiberius in a tragedy of which such was the argument?—Had Tiberius ever committed such like atrocity? Was he not very much affected at his family losses?—And does not his kinsman Clemens say* that he wept very plentifully at the recovery of Faustus and Mathilda?—And did he not, both before and after, feel for the distresses of his subjects?—In what then could the similarity between those monarchs have consisted?—In order to enable ourselves to form a conjecture as to the nature of this similarity let us consult Athenagoras, an early Christian writer. He, in his apology for Christians, p. 4, C., says—there are three charges, which are usually made against us—viz—atheism, *Thyestean banquets*, and *Œdopodean connexions*—Τρια επιφνηρίζουσιν ημιν εγκληματα, αθηοτητα, Θυεσεια δειπνα, Οιδιποδειος μιξεις.—Now if Thyestean banquets was one of the charges against the early Christians what but the communion of the body and blood of Christ could have been the ground of that charge? Had then Tiberius attended that communion?—If so, why may not Scaurus be thought to have fancied some kind of a similarity between the imagined atrocities of those two monarchs?—Of this, more presently, when we come to consider what Suetonius says.

Again—Tacitus says, vi. 38, that Fulcinius Trio, in the year 778, indignant at the increasing prevalence of accusers, left in his last will

* De gestis P. chapter 143.

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some severe reflections, not only on Macro and the more dissolute of Cæsar's freedmen, but on Tiberius himself, who, he also says, chap. 30, had, but the year before, discouraged accusers, accusing him, not as a monster of cruelty and lust, but as a dotard, and as an exile.—Tiberius, says Tacitus, caused his will to be published, and thereby proved himself to be a despiser of his own shame.

Lastly—Tacitus says, in the next chapter, 39, that Paconianus was, for some verses which he, *while in prison*, made on Tiberius, strangled.

Let us now hear what Suetonius says of those satyrical pieces published against Tiberius.

Suetonius says, iii. 45, that Tiberius, when old, and after his debaucheries were known, and therefore after the death of Sejanus, when he was, as Tacitus says, most cruel and lewd, exposed for his lewdness in an Atellane exode, and that the attack on his character was received with applause.

Again—chapter 59, he informs us that Tiberius did (not by any deputy, but by the impulse of his own savage temper,) many things so cruelly and atrociously, *through an affectation of gravity, and by way of correcting the public manners*, that some farcastic poetasters made the following verses on him:—

ASPER et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?

Dispeream si te mater amare potest.

Non es eques—Quare? non sunt tibi millia centum;

Omnia si quæras et Rhodos exilium est.

* Suetonius, iii. 61.

Tiberius why and when lampooned.

AUREA mutaſti Saturni ſæcula Cæſar :

Incolumni nam te, ferrea ſemper erunt.

FASTIDIT vinum, quia jam fitit iſte cruorem,

Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.

Aſpice felicem ſibi, non tibi Romule Syllam

Et Marium ſi vis adſpice, ſed reducem.

Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis

Nec ſemel infectas adſpice cœde manus.

Et dic Roma perit : regnabit ſanguine multo,

Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.

Now what puniſhment did he inflict on the authors of thoſe verſes, (for Suetonius ſeems to ſay that they were written by more than one*.) Did he tear them limb from limb, and make a Thyeftean feaſt of them?—Not he indeed. Far, far from it. He did not make the leaſt attempt to diſcover the authors. At *firſt*, ſays Suetonius, he would have it thought that the authors of them did not mean what they ſaid, that they were diſaffected to him and impatient of his government.—And, that he uſed to ſay often—let ſuch hate me, if the reſt do not. And then, ſays Suetonius, he gave proofs of what they had ſaid.

Now when, if thoſe verſes were made at the ſame time, can we ſuppoſe that they were publiſhed?—When did Tiberius, by attempting to ameliorate the manners of the Romans, change the golden age into iron?—And when did he, by the ſame attempt, cauſe a civil war at Rome like that of Antony?

* Thoſe verſes ſeem to have been written by three different perſons and at three different times.—For, the writer of the two firſt pairs addreſſes Tiberius himſelf as an untitled perſon.—The writer of the third pair addreſſes him as Cæſar.—The writer of the remaining four addreſſes, not Tiberius himſelf, but a third perſon.

Tiberius why and when lampooned.

We have already seen, CHAP. vi, that Tiberius was, for some time of his reign, accounted, by every body, a most excellent prince, and that he was, by no other writers but Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion, said to have been, at any time in his reign, a bad prince—and, we there also saw that these three writers are by no means agreed as to the time when he began to be a bad prince—and, lastly, we there saw that Suetonius himself says that he was not a bad prince till after the disaster at Fidenæ—and, that he became, soon after, totally depraved and totally cruel.—What else then can we think, than that Tiberius must, after he retired from Fidenæ to Capræ, and before he became so totally depraved and cruel, have attempted to correct the dissolute manners of the Romans?—And that those verses were published in that interval?—Now if this was the time when he made this attempt it must have been made after the end of 780, or in 781, or 782—or, as Paterculus says, ii. 130, while his mind was so overcome with grief. But would he, who, as Tacitus says, iv. 57, retired thither for the purpose of concealing his own vices—who, as Suetonius says, iii. 41, had no sooner returned to Capræ, than he became totally inattentive to the concerns of the republic, have given himself the least trouble about the manners of the people of Rome?—If he then became himself totally depraved and totally cruel?—What says Paterculus of his conduct at the time?—He says, ii. 126, that Tiberius had, in 783, habituated *all* to do what was right, either by his example, or, by his authority—*recte faciendi omnibus aut incussa voluntas, aut imposita necessitas—facere recte cives suos Princeps optimus faciendo docet.*

We have now seen that the golden age of Rome is said by those libellers to have ceased about 781 or 782, and that the iron then began.—We have also seen that this change is said by Suetonius to have been effected by the efforts of Tiberius to correct the manners of

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the Romans. We are moreover told by the same persons that Tiberius, by his severity in correcting the manners of the Romans, caused a civil war like that of Antony. Now in what year of Tiberius did this civil war happen?

Suetonius himself, we find, though he in one chapter, 37, mentions the care which Tiberius took to prevent *seditions*, and the severity with which he punished popular *tumults*, takes not the least notice of this civil war. And, though he says that Tiberius, more than once, undertook to correct the manners of the Romans, yet he does not say that any tumult arose on that account. On the contrary, he seems to admit, 33, 34, 35, that the people submitted quietly to all his regulations for that purpose. What Suetonius here seems to admit, Tacitus, we find, expressly affirms, iv. 62, where he says, that the people of Rome, were, in the year 780, contented to go to Fidenæ (that is, as Strabo says, v. p. 159, about 4 or 5 miles from Rome,) to see cruel sports, because Tiberius had forbidden such spectacles to be exhibited at Rome—*Adfluere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habitis, virilis ac muliebris sexus, omnis ætatis, ob propinquitatem loci effusius.*

The civil war then, alluded to in those verses as having been caused by the rigour of Tiberius, in his extreme zeal to correct the manners of the Romans, appears to have happened, if at all, after the year 780. Again—as the second verse seems to imply that Livia was alive, when those verses were written, they must have been written before the year 782, and therefore in the year 781.—Besides—what popular tumult happened at Rome in the reign of Tiberius, on account of his severity in correcting the manners of the people, that could be said to be at

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all like the civil war caused by Anthony, but that caused by the repression of the most grievous pest, introduced by the artifice of Tiberius—or, that caused by the, we know not what, soon after the death of Sabinus—or, that caused by the repression of the execrable superstition?—or, that caused by the prevalence of accusers, which Seneca represents as worse than any civil war?—and which he seems to intimate, by the subjoined story of Paullus, was caused by religious accusers?—Now all these we have shewn to have been the same, and to have happened in the year 781. That Suetonius himself must have meant that it happened in this very year why should we not conclude, as, we find, he says, iii. 37, that Tiberius most grievously suppressed popular tumults, and took particular care that they should never happen again?—*Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit; et ne orirentur sedulo cavit.*

Having now seemingly ascertained the year when those verses were written let us next proceed to examine the several charges contained in them.

The writer of the first two pairs reproaches him with having been sent to Rhodes for aspiring at the sovereignty.—The writer of the third pair accuses him of having been the author of an amazing change of the times.—The writer of the remaining four accuses him of having been, by his cruelty, the cause of a civil war, which cruelty he seems to have imputed to his *banishment*. But with what propriety could the second writer have said that Tiberius, while Cæsar, and in safety, caused so amazing a change in the times?—And, with what propriety could the third writer have said that he, by his cruelty, caused a civil war at Rome, and that his cruelty was owing to his banishment?—that is, surely, to Rhodes. How could his cruelty have been imputed to his residence at Rhodes, whither he, we have seen, went in

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the year 749—that is, more than 30 years before?—Was it, as we have already hinted CHAP. ii. p. 16, caused by what then happened in Judea?—Of this more presently. The third writer, we find, says that he despised or hated wine. Now when did he, who, for his immoderate love of wine, used to be nick-named Mero, begin to despise it?—and, for this reason—because he now thirsts for blood?—quia jam fitit iste cruorem.—What blood had he wantonly spilt before the beginning of the year 782?—Have we not seen, CHAP. vi, that he was a most excellent prince till after the disaster at Fidenæ?—And did not Paternulus remark to Vinicius, in the year 783, how he had, for the three years before, been laboring under the pressure of extreme grief?—And yet, he must, if the following words—viz—Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum—have been understood rightly, have spilt it profusely.—But who ever heard of any tyrant drinking blood?—To thirst for blood is what we sometimes hear: but further than this the metaphor is never used. And after having disturbed our imaginations with all those supposed butcheries and blood-bibings, he begs us to take notice how happy he was—Aspice felicem sibi.

How then should those verses be understood, so as to make them have the appearance of verisimilitude, and to remove that horrible picture which one of them presents to our imagination of a truly cyclopiæan repast?—Suppose we once more reflect a little on the nature of one of the three charges which Athenagoras told the Emperors, M. Aur. Antoninus and L. Aurel. Commodus, the early unbelievers used to make against believers—viz—a fondness for Thyestean banquets—Θυστειὰ δειπνᾶ—and then we shall, probably, be no longer in doubt about the meaning of those verses. We shall be inclined to

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think that they may be a little metaphorical—that the blood which Tiberius was so fond of quaffing was no other than the blood of our Lord. If our conjecture be approved of by any, such may be disposed to think that Tiberius was charged with having learnt to be cruel while he was at Rhodes, because he, as we have already hinted, was there first brought acquainted with the arrival of the wise men from the east at Jerusalem—the summoning of a council on that account—and, the consequent massacre of the infants at Bethlehem.

Again—Suetonius, chapter 62, enumerates some of the more atrocious cruelties which Tiberius used to inflict on such as were obnoxious to him, not any where, but at Capreæ, and, as he seems to intimate, after the death of his two grandsons Nero and Drusus, of whom Drusus, the survivor, was, says Tacitus, vi. 23, starved to death in the year 786, and therefore after Agrippa, Herod had been readmitted into the family of Tiberius. Suetonius having said all this in the 62d chapter, begins the 63d with telling us how the people, *in the mean time*, hated, and detested, and reviled him, and in what prætrepidation he, who, but two or three years before, was happy in himself—*felix sibi*—lived—*Quam vero inter hæc non modo invisus, ac detestabilis, sed prætrepidus quoque atque etiam contumeliis obnoxius vixerit, multa indicia sunt.*—But, if he had, four years before, embraced the faith of Christ, can we wonder that he was so hated and calumniated by his unbelieving subjects now?—If he was so detested by his subjects in general, why should V. Maximus have told us that the people of Rome were ready to crush Sejanus, late in the year 784, and that the same good order was continued, no one knows how long after that?—Why does Philo tell us that the Jews continued his best friends, and that no potentate was more honorable in his old age?—Why did Agrippa reside in his family, the last three years of his reign,

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and, speak so respectfully of him to Caius?—And why does Josephus say that Tiberius might have lived in peace if he had not troubled himself so much about futurity?

Lastly—Suetonius says, chapter 66, that reproaches, from all quarters, scorched or burnt his anxious mind—and, that, among the rest, every one of the condemned persons openly upbraided him to his face, or, by means of libels stuck up in the Orchestra,* with his multifarious misdeeds—*Urebant insuper anxiam mentem varia undique convitia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram, vel per libellos in Orchestrâ positos, ingerente.*—And did even the condemned persons too join in the general outcry against the multifarious misdeeds of their sovereign and father, did they, after having by their offences forfeited their lives, dare to revile him *to his face*, and, to expose catalogues of the several sorts of his misdeeds in the *Orchestra*?—Has it not been ever allowed to be intolerable presumption for any one to publish libels against those in power, especially against his sovereign?—How then is it that those condemned persons were permitted to employ the few days which remained, and for which they were indebted solely to the humane interposition of Tiberius, in reviling him, most excellent as he had been, and aged as he then was?—Were they the proper persons to correct his faults?—Why are they said to have been more forward than others to expose them?—Could all this have been true?—Has it not, at least, something like the appearance of being incredible?—Was ever an old tyrant, hackneyed in the habits of cruelty and profligacy of every sort, known, as long as he was continuing in the pursuit of his darling courses, to suffer him-

* How those damnati found means to see him, especially if he was then at Capræ—and, how they found means to fix their pasquinades in the Orchestra we are at a loss to conceive.

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self to be impeded by the general outcries of his subjects?—especially of those who had forfeited their lives?—or, to suffer remorse for his deeds?—How then can Tiberius be supposed to have suffered himself to be reviled for his manifold enormities by *all his subjects*?—and, by the most depraved amongst them?—who had forfeited their lives, and were, by his clemency, only permitted to live?—How did this old, decrepit, deformed, exiled, hated, detested, blood bibing, quaking, anxious, credulous tyrant behave on this occasion?—Would he suffer those numerous publications of his evil courses to pass unnoticed?—and, the authors of them to escape with impunity?—this Suetonius has taken care not to say;—he only says—*quibus quidem diversissime afficiebatur*—but, had he not before said that the anxious mind of Tiberius was scorched or nettled by the *varia undique convitia*?—How then is it that he was so very differently affected by those libels—*libelli*—of the condemned persons?

Let us, lastly, enquire when this general defamation of Tiberius took place.

That it could not have happened before the decree, forbidding immediate executions, was passed—that is, as we have seen, CHAP. ix, before the crucifixion of our Lord, or, before the year 781, is plain. That it could not have happened before the end of the year 783 is not much less so, because Dion assures us, l. 58, p. 623, C., that deluded and *believing* persons, in the end of that year, erected, *every where*, to Tiberius and Sejanus, *statues of brass*, and procured their *likenesses*, and placed *thrones of gold* for both of them in the Theatres—*τοῖς ἦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπατωμένοι καὶ πιστεύοντες, χαλκῆς τε αὐτοῖς ἀπανταχῇ ἐκ τῆ ἰσθ ἱσάσαν, καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς συνεγγραφον, διφρῆς τε ἐπιχρυσῆς ἐς τὰ θεάτρα ἀμφοῖν εἰσέφερον.*—And that it is not likely to have happened

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before the end of the year 784 why should we not conclude from what Suetonius himself says, chapter 61—viz—that the more atrocious of his crimes were committed after the death of Sejanus, who was put to death in October in that year.

CHAPTER XIV.

Tiberius ever fond of Jews and of their religion.

TO any one who considers that Livia, the mother of Tiberius, was intimate with Salome, the sister of Herod, before the death of that prince—that she is said to have made many costly presents to the Jews for the service of the temple—that Augustus and Agrippa were both attached to Herod, and contributors to the service of the temple—that Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius, was also intimate with Berenice, the mother of Herod Agrippa—that Herod Agrippa appears to have been so named from Agrippa, the friend of Augustus—that he was educated with Claudius, the nephew, and Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and continued his intimacy with the latter till his death—that he then left Italy, and resided in Judea, because Tiberius could not endure to see any of his son's intimates—that, after a few years, he returned to Italy, and was received by Tiberius with open arms, and requested to remain with his family.* To any one who considers

* Strabo says of Augustus, xvi. p. 526, that he honored Herod and all his family—Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐτίμησε τὸν Ἡρώδην, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλωμὴν, καὶ ταύτης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην.

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all this—the attachment of Tiberius to the Jews must appear to have been very great. But this is not all the evidence which may be adduced in support of this point. Strabo says, xvi. p. 463, that Tiberius was educated by one of the two Athenodorus's, of Tarsus—that the one who instructed him was the son of Sando, a *Canaanite*—*Ἀνδρες δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς (Tarsus) γεγονασί τῶν μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀντίπατρος τε καὶ Ἀρχιδῆμος, καὶ Νεσῶρ ἐτι δ' Ἀνθενοδωροὶ δύο ὧν ὁ μὲν Κορδυλίων καλεῖται, ὁ δὲ τῷ Σανδῶνι, ὃν καὶ Κανανίτην φασὶ ἀπὸ κωμῆς τίνος, Καίσαρος καθηγησάτο, καὶ τιμῆς εὐτυχέ μεγάλης.* He seems, by the evidence of Suetonius, to have been, when he was about 40, fond of attending to the instruction of Jewish doctors—viz—Diogenes, and Theodorus, of Gadara—the former of whom used, as Suetonius himself says, iii. 32, to lecture on the *sabbaths*—and the latter, as Quintilian* and Seneca† say, was a famous leader of a sect.

Let us proceed to enquire on what terms he and the Jews were during his monarchy.

* Quintilian, iii. 1, p. 127—*Præcipue tamen in se converterunt studia Apollodorus Pergamenus, qui præceptor Apolloniæ Cæsaris Augusti fuit: et, Theodorus Gadareus, qui se dici maluit Rhodium; quem studiose audisse, cum in eam insulam secessisset, dicitur Tiberius Cæsar. Hi diversas opiniones tradiderunt, appellatique inde Apollodorei et Theodorei, ad morem certas in philosophiâ sectas sequendi. Sed Apollodorei præcepta magis ex discipulis cognoscas. Plura scripsit Theodorus.*

———— v. 13, p. 278—*Ideoque miror inter duos diversarum sectarum velut duces non mediocri contentione quæsitum, singulisne quæstionibus subjiciendi essent loci, ut Theodoro placeat; an prius docendus iudex quam movendus, ut præcipit Apollodorus.*

———— ii. 11, p. 94—*Alius percontanti, Theodorus an Apollodoreus esset. Ego, inquit, parmularius sum.*

Strabo, xvi. p. 522, *Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαδάρων ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ρητωρ.*

† Seneca, ix. p. 103—*Contr.—Primum non apud eundem præceptorem studuimus. Tu Apollodorum habuisti, cui semper narrare placet: ego Theodorum cui non semper.—Syriacus to Niger.*

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John the Evangelist informs us that the rulers of the Jews said to Pilate, when our Lord was crucified—that is—in the 14th year of Tiberius—“Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar,”—“We have no king but Cæsar.”—Now can it be thought that the rulers of the Jews would have said so, by way of influencing their governor to comply, on this occasion, if they had not found the government of Tiberius very mild till that time?—That they had found it so till that time is plain from their having been indulged with that most extraordinary privilege of demanding every year, at the passover, the release of a criminal, however atrocious his crime; and that they must have found it so for two or three years later, who can doubt, that considers that they were, till the churches had rest, indulged with the privilege of sending to *strange cities* for transgressors of the law—a privilege which, as Josephus says, B. i. 24, β., was granted to no other people. Now as this latter privilege was, as Josephus also says, granted to the Jews by Augustus, why should we not suppose that the former privilege was, in all probability, granted by him?—If then those two most extraordinary privileges were granted to them by Augustus, may we not conclude that he had the greatest veneration for the object of their worship?—This indeed is, we find, attested by Agrippa, Philo, and Josephus, each of whom says of him* that he was ever zealous for the honor of the most high God—ΤΟΥ ΩΨΙΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ—and the two

* διεταξάτο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀναγεσθαι θυσίας ἐκτελεῖς ὀλοκαυτὲς ΤΩ ΥΨΙΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, αἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖνται, ἀρνες εἰσι δύο καὶ ταῦρος.
p. 801, F.

ἀλλ' ὅτως ὡσιώτο περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥς μόνον ἢ πανοικίος ἀναθήμασι πολυτελείαις τὸ ἱερόν ἡμῶν ἐκοσμήσε, προσάξας καὶ δι' αἰῶνος ἀναγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχῆς ὀλοκαυτὲς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀπαρχὴν ΤΩ ΥΨΙΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ αἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖνται, καὶ εἰς ἀπᾶν ἐπιτελεσθήσονται, μνηνμα τροπῶν οὕτως αὐτοκρατορικῶν.
p. 785, F.

Josephus, A. xvi. 6. β. γ. δ. ε. ζ.

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last mentioned say that he was favorable to his people, every where.* So zealous for the honor of the most high God, and so kind to his chosen people, every where, was Augustus, that the Jews of Judea, with probably Joazar, the high-priest, at their head, in conjunction with 8,000 of those at Rome, (who, we take it for granted, were libertines) petitioned him, soon after the accession of Archelaus, to deliver them from their allegiance to their lawful prince, and to take them under his immediate protection.

Suetonius says of Augustus, ii. 93, that he had the greatest veneration for all those foreign modes of worship which were ancient and received—*Peregrinarum cæremoniarum veteres studiosissime coluit.*

Now as Augustus was so very partial to the Jews, on account of their religion, and, as Paterculus says, ii. 123, on his death bed, earnestly desired Tiberius to adhere to the same system as had already been pursued by them, and as Tiberius, Strabo† and others say, religiously followed all the ways of Augustus—and, was, as Tacitus says, A. ii. 65, for nothing so anxious as to let every thing remain as

* Philo, in Flac. p. 755, D., calls Augustus the *savior* and the *benefactor* of the Jews—*της γαρ ημετερας, ην ο σωτηρ και ευεργετης Σεβαστος.*

Philo, p. 785, F., says, that Augustus was so very favorable to the Jews of Rome, that all nations, even those that disliked them, behaved respectfully towards them. Josephus, contra Ap. l. ii. §. 5, says—*Nos autem maximo Cæsare utimur teste auxilii atque fidei quam circa enim contra Egyptios gessimus: necnon et senatu ejusque consultis, et epistolis Cæsaris Augusti, quibus nostra merita comprobantur.*—Those letters, continues he, Apion should have read, and not those only, but those also, written by the greatest Roman emperors—amongst whom, he surely reckons Tiberius.

† Strabo, vi. sub fine και νυν ο διαδεξάμενος υος εκείνον, παρέχει Τιβερίος, κανονα της διοικήσεως, και των προσαγμάτων ποιημένος εκείνον και αυτον οι παιδες αυτης, Γερμανικος τε και Δρυσος, υπαγῶντες τω πατρι.

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it was, and, as he also says, H. v. 9, kept the Jews quiet all the time of his reign, why should we not think that he was equally favorable to them?—Of this, at least, we are assured, and by the Evangelists, that the afore-mentioned two most remarkable indulgences were by him continued—the *former* till the crucifixion of our Lord, and the *latter*, till, at least, two or three years later—and if Tiberius did not then deprive them of it, no doubt, till the end of his reign. Can we wonder then that the rulers of the Jews should have been so ready to reply to Pilate, on the former occasion—“If thou let this man go thou art not Cæsar’s friend.”—“Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.”—“We have no king but Cæsar,”—especially if Tiberius had, as Josephus says, A. xviii. 4, *æ.*, then reprimanded Pilate, so severely, for having attempted to pollute their holy city.

This continuance of those two privileges, it will surely be allowed, seems to prove that Tiberius must have treated the Jews with the greatest indulgence, till the crucifixion of our Lord—or rather, till we know not how long after. How then is it that many, if not most divines, among whom, we perceive, one or two super-eminent professors* have thought that the power of inflicting capital punishments

* Michaelis, vol. iii. part. 1, ch. 8, §. 4, says, that Stephen *hardly* suffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judea, (*viz—*788, A. D. 41,) *for under Pilate the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital punishments.* If, says he, this be true, Saul’s conversion must have happened likewise after Pilate’s recall—(that is—probably after the death of Tiberius, who died March 22d, 790.)

Marsh, his equally learned annotator, after having taken it for granted that *the Jews certainly had not the power of stoning blasphemers under Pilate*—and, observed that Pilate was recalled early in the year (as he says) 37, says—it is not improbable that the Sanhedrin obtained from his successor a privilege which *they did not enjoy under Pilate*: And, if they did, they, of course, took the earliest opportunity of making use of it.

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was, before our Lord suffered, taken from the Jews?—On what evidence can they have persuaded themselves that their opinion was grounded?—scil—On the presumed incontrovertibleness of that affirmation of the rulers of the Jews to Pilate—“It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.”—But if this affirmation so clearly and undoubtedly means that it was not lawful to stone blasphemers or adulterers, &c. why, it may be asked, has John subjoined that explanatory interlocution—this is to be understood of the nature of the death he was to undergo. Besides—why would they prefer the evidence of men, who were so base, as to suborn false witnesses against perfect innocence, to that of him who came into the world for the sole purpose of bearing witness to the truth?—What said our Lord who was that truth?—He, says Matthew, v. 18, and Luke, xvi. 17, declared unto the Jews—“Verily I say unto you—till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.”—And when was all fulfilled?—Not surely before his death, as some would persuade us, but at his death—when he said—“It is finished.”—Did not the Jews make this declaration to Pilate after they had sought to put Jesus to death for blasphemy—and, when they had accused him as a mover of sedition?—If they had not the power of putting any one to death, why should they have offered Judas so handsome a reward for his baseness?—And how could his offence have been so very heinous as some of those very persons contend?—Had not those very rulers previously sought to stone him?—And had not this been the cause of his retiring from Judea into another country and there concealing himself?—And did they not, but a little before, “take counsel to put him to death?”—And, not Jesus only but Lazarus also?—All this happened before the death of Jesus.—And why, if they had been then deprived of the power, are they said to have used it so often in the course of the two next years?—Why did

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the Sanhedrin take counsel to slay the Apostles? Acts, v. 33. Why are the libertines said to have *suborned* men to accuse Stephen of having spoken against God and against Moses?—And why did the Sanhedrin take cognizance of his offence?—And when he said, before them—“Behold, &c.”—why did they instantly stone him?—Why would those D. Ds. and S. T. Ps. overlook this evidence of the Evangelists, and not only this, but also that of Agrippa to Caius, and that of Philo, and that of the Talmud of Jerusalem?—Agrippa, in his letter to Caius, p. 799, F., says, (after having extolled the reverence of Augustus and Agrippa towards the most high God)—“And as to
 “your other grandfather Tiberius was not he entirely of the same
 “disposition towards our temple, as the two just mentioned? Did he
 “not, through all the twenty-three years of his reign, preserve the
 “holy service entire, as it was at first?”—Thus said Agrippa to Caius only three years after the death of Tiberius. And Philo, we find, says, in his life of Moses, p. 508, A., that his law alone had remained, as it was at first, to the present time, firm, unshaken, unaltered, sealed with the impression of nature—and, that it was his hope that it would remain so as long as the sun, the moon, the heavens, and the whole universe should remain—that the Jews had not suffered a letter of it to be altered though they themselves had undergone many vicissitudes.

τα δε ταυτη μονη βεβαια, ασφαλευτα, ακραδαντα, καθαπερ σφραγι̃σι φυσικης αυτης σεσημασμενα, μενει παγιως αφ' ης ημερας εγγραφη μεχρι νυν, και προς τον επειτα παντα διαμενε̃ιν ελπις αυτα αιωνα ωσπερ αθανατα, εως αν ηλιος και σεληνη και ο συμπας υρανος τε και κοσμος η̃.—Lastly—the Talmud of Jerusalem asserts that the power of punishing capitally was taken from Israel, not before the death of our Lord, but about two years and three or four months after that event—or, about the time when the persecution which followed the death of Stephen ceased—or, when Paul returned from Damascus to Jerusalem and the churches had rest.—It asserts

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that it was taken from them forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, now Jerusalem was destroyed on the 10th of August, in the second year of Vespasian, which began on the 2d of July, 823.—If then this power was, as Lightfoot says, taken from them precisely forty years before the destruction of the temple, it must have been taken from them August the 10th, 783—or, about the beginning of the 17th of Tiberius. But perhaps the Talmud only meant to say that this power was taken from them in the course of the fortieth year before that event—or, in the course of the 17th of Tiberius. However if *all* power of punishing capitally was taken from Israel, before our Lord suffered, as those divines would persuade us—or, in the year 783, as the Talmud of Jerusalem pretends, who but Tiberius can be thought to have done it?—And if he did, must not the Jews, who, as Josephus says, A. xvii. 15, B. ii. 6, *α.*, sent ambassadors to Rome, to request, (on condition, that their hierarchy might be continued as before,) to be taken under the government of Rome in all other matters—and, because Archelaus had transgressed the law, by marrying the widow of his brother Alexander, when his brother had left children by her—and, because he had also polluted the temple, on a solemn feast, by slaying many of the congregation—who, as he also says, A. xv. 7, *η.*, would not permit the least innovation to be made in their religious affairs—who, a few years after, procured the recall of Pilate because he offered an insult to the most high God—and who flew to arms as soon as they heard of the blasphemous intention of Caius—if Tiberius, repeat we, took from the Jews the grand support of their religion, and without the least provocation, can we suppose that they, who ever manifested so much zeal for their law, would have submitted to it, and without even the appearance of opposition?—That they must have been so unaccountably passive is plain by what they said to Pilate—“If thou let this man go thou art not

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Cæsar's friend."—"Whofoever maketh himfelf a king fpeaketh againft Cæfar."—"We have no king but Cæfar."—And, by what Tacitus fays of them, hift. v. 9, under Tiberius the Jews had reft—Sub Tiberio quies—not fo under Caius—for they flew to arms as foon as they knew that he was about to place his ftatue in the temple.

But is it not ftrange that Tiberius, who pleaded the caufe of Archelaus, when Auguftus was again petitioned to depofe him, and of courfe knew that the chief reafon which induced the Jews to apply for his removal was of a religious nature—and alfo, that the fole object of the compact then entered into between the Jews and the Romans was to fecure their religious eftablifhment—who held all the acts of Auguftus as facred—who was for nothing fo anxious as to let every thing remain as it was—who continued the indulgence granted to the Jews by Auguftus 16 years after his death—or, it may have been, till the Chriftian churches in Judea had reft—even when he knew that they were abufing it to the purpofe of trying their brethren of other countries, who believed in the divinity of Jefus Chrift, as blafphemers—and who continued, to the end of his reign, the daily oblation directed by Auguftus—is it not, fay we, ftrange that fuch an one fhould, without the leaft provocation, have, in the interim, taken from Ifrael the power of inflicting capital punifhments?—Or, in other words, is it not moft unaccountably ftrange, that he, who knew and did all this, fhould not have permitted them to punifh any one with death for offences which Mofes faid expreffly fhould be punifhed with death, and, at the fame time fhould have permitted them to fend to ftrange cities for prefumed capital offenders—that is, for thofe who believed in one of whom Mofes and the prophets fpake, and who was greater than Mofes, for the purpofe of punifhing them with death?—and, that he fhould not have permitted the *former* and have permitted

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the *latter* at the very time when he was so overcome with grief that his life was a burden to him?—and, when he was so afraid of his enemies, as to think it prudent to desist from attending the Senate, and even from entering Rome?—If not when his mother, who was a friend of Jews and a promoter of the temple service, had, by interfering in the management of public matters, driven him from Rome?

That the tradition, recorded in the Talmud of Jerusalem, appears, as it is translated, to be very questionable—who will deny?—No one surely who knows what Philo says, ad C. p. 785, F., and in the next sentence, p. 786, A.—In the former page he says that Tiberius was very careful, till the death of Sejanus, to preserve the Jewish hierarchy entire as it was at first—and in the latter page he says that the Jews were, till that time, more attached to him than any other people.—Now what can have been the cause of their greater attachment to him, but the consideration of that beneficence which he had always extended to their whole nation on account of their religious tenets?—Does not Philo seem to say so immediately after, where he tells us of the circular letter which he sent to all his foreign *ordained underlings*—*χειροτονουμενοις υπαρχοις*—charging them to behave kindly to the Jews in their respective departments—to make no alteration in their customs, and to respect the Jews themselves as peaceable, and their laws as conducing to peace. As now, Philo says, that such was the concern of Tiberius for the safety of the Jews and for the preservation of their law, after the death of Sejanus, that is, in the beginning of the 18th year of his reign, who can think that he deprived them of the power of putting any one to death any time before, and, especially, only the year before, and, it may have been, in the course

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of the same year?—Would the Jews, in that case, instead of being exasperated to madness at the unjust and unprovoked privation, have continued to be, above others, attached to him?—And, if such was his concern for them and for their law, so soon after their expulsion, who can think that the Jews considered him as being the cause of their expulsion?

Having now discovered, by the evidence of the Evangelists, Agrippa, Philo, and Josephus, and even that of Tacitus, that Tiberius seems to have been a friend of the Jews, and on account of their religion, till the year 784 was pretty far advanced, or, till the beginning of the 18th year of his reign;—let us now make it our business to inform ourselves whether he behaved himself towards that people during the remaining four or five years of his reign as he did in the preceding part of it.

We have just seen that Philo, ad C. p. 786, A., says, that Tiberius, immediately after the death of Sejanus, wrote to all his ordained ministers abroad, that they should behave kindly to the Jews under them, in consideration of their sober behaviour, and the peaceable spirit of their law. And in his next work against Flaccus, he leaves us to conclude that the governor behaved most impartially towards those of Alexandria, from the expulsion of those of Rome by Sejanus, to the persecution of those of Alexandria, in the next reign, by Flaccus.—And Josephus, we perceive, A. xviii. 5, 6, 7, and in one or two other places, confirms this report of Philo.

In the 7, ε., he says, that Agrippa, who had been brought up at Rome with Drusus, and had, at his death, been obliged to leave Italy, because he could not appear in the presence of Tiberius as usual, re-

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turned to Italy,* before the death of Piso,† who died in the year 784, and, as Tacitus says, vi. 10, in the latter end of the 18th year of Tiberius, or, in the beginning of the 19th. As soon as he arrived at Puteoli, he, says Josephus, A. xviii. 7, ε., sent a letter to Tiberius, then at Capreæ, to beg permission to wait on him—and, that Tiberius, without delay, sent him a most benevolent answer; and, when he arrived at Capreæ, received him in the most affectionate manner. Now if Tiberius, in the year 784, deprived the Jews of the power of punishing any one with death—that is, of the power of inflicting the capital penalties prescribed by Moses—and, had, in the course of that same year, expelled the Jews from Rome, and treated the libertines so much more barbarously than any other of the rest, and those who enlisted worse than those who refused to enlist—if he, in that year, did all this, would Agrippa, who fainted away on hearing of the impious intention of his cousin Caius, and, who told that prince, that he would rather suffer death than see the temple polluted, have, in the year following, been so ready to wait on Tiberius at Capreæ—and, as it should seem, to accuse Herod of having been concerned in the conspiracy of Sejanus?—Or, would Tiberius have been so overjoyed to see him, and so ready to request him to remain at Capreæ, and to undertake the care of his grandson.

* Josephus says, B. ii. 9, ε., that the object of Agrippa's visit to Rome, this time, was to accuse his uncle, the tetrarch, but of what, he does not there say; but as he says, A. xviii. 7, β., that he had just before quarrelled with his uncle—and, A. xviii. 8, β., that he afterwards went to Rome to accuse him, to Caius, of having been concerned in the conspiracy of Sejanus; why should we not suspect that this is likely to have been his object now.—Tiberius, it however seems, paid no attention to it.

† A. xviii. 7, ε.

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In the 5th chapter, β., he says, that Vitellius, on the petition of the Samaritans, sent Pilate to Rome, to answer for his conduct towards that people—or, rather, as he says, a few lines after in the same §—*προς α κατηγοροειεν Ιεδᾱιοι διδαξαντα τον αυτοκρατορα*—that, it may be, is—to the emperor for instructions as to what the Jews might be permitted to accuse.

In the same chapter, β., he says, that Vitellius (in the 21st year of Tiberius*) went up to Jerusalem at the passover, and then, by the order of Tiberius, no doubt, granted to the Jews two favors—viz—a remission of the tribute on fruit sold at Jerusalem—and, a permission to the priests to have the custody of the high-priests stole and ornaments, of which they had been deprived by Hyrcanus, A. xv. 11, δ.

In the next chapter, 6, α., he says, that Aretas and Herod were at war with each other—that Aretas defeated the troops of Herod—that Herod complained of it to Tiberius—and, that Tiberius was very much offended at the news of it—and, lastly, that he, notwithstanding what Agrippa had said of him, instantly wrote to Vitellius to assist Herod.

In the same chapter, β., he says, that Vitellius marched with his forces to join those of Herod; and that when he would have passed through Judea, with his army, the rulers of the Jews went to meet him and to desire him not to think of doing it, because the admission of Roman standards into their country was considered as illegal—that Vitellius immediately complied with their request, and ordered his

* *Αγριππας υιος Ηρωδα τε βασιλεως κατηγορος Ηρωδα τε τετραρχε αφικομενος εν Ρωμη δεμειται υπο Τιβεριου.* Epitome χρονων, p. 268, Ann. Tib. K. (20) Galba and Sylla Coss.

N. B. In the Chron. Can. this is placed in the K. A. of Tib. p. 189.

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troops to take another route, while he and Herod went up to Jerusalem to sacrifice—there he was honorably received, and there he remained three days, and then was informed that Tiberius was dead.

Again, xix. 5, β ., he relates how Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, published an edict in favor of the Jews of Alexandria, in which he notices the favors conferred on them by Augustus, and the persecution of them under Caius; but of their having been forbidden, by Tiberius, to punish any one with death, for having transgressed the law of Moses, or of their having been otherwise disturbed by him, he says not a word.

Lastly—in his work against Apion, l. ii. §. 5, he says, that the care of the Nile, &c. which had been, by the Ptolemies, entrusted to the Jews, had been continued to them by all the emperors.

CHAPTER XV.

Tiberius did not expel the Jews from Rome.

TO any one who has read the chapter of this work immediately preceding, or, the epistle which Agrippa sent to Caius to deprecate the erection of his statue in the temple, it must seem very strange that any writer should have said that the Jews were, at any time, in the reign of Tiberius, for any reason, expelled from Rome. And to any one who has read what Strabo has said, xvi. 526, of the intimacy of Herod with Antony and Augustus, and what Josephus has said, A. xvi. 2, of his intimacy with Agrippa, and what Josephus has also said, A. xvii. 15, of the petition of the Jews to be released from their allegiance to the family of Herod, and to be taken under the immediate dominion of the Romans, (provided only that all the powers of their hierarchy might remain as they were)—to any one who has read this, and who considers that all the powers of their hierarchy were religiously supported by Augustus, as long as he lived, not only in Judea, but in every other country, and even in Rome itself, it must seem unaccountably strange that any one should have said that the Jews of Rome were, at any time, in the reign of Tiberius, expelled

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from that city, and from that city only, for exercising those very rites which his predecessor had solemnly agreed they should always exercise unmolested at Rome, as well as at any other place, especially as Dion says, 57, p. 607, C., that Tiberius, after his accession, not only swore himself to observe all the acts of Augustus, but that he compelled others to do so too. And, again, to any one who recollects what the rulers of the Jews said, in the year 781, to Pilate—or, how intimate Livia is said to have been with Salome, till that year—and how intimate Antonia is said to have been with Berenice, it must seem still more strange that any one should have said that they were expelled before that year. And, lastly, to any one who knows how reverently Strabo speaks of their religion, xvi. 523, what can be more astonishing than to hear that they were expelled, at any time, for holding superstitious opinions and practising profane rites?

The expulsion of the Jews from Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, is however noticed by four early writers—viz—by two Jewish and by two Roman: but though those four writers are agreed as to the fact of their expulsion, in that reign, yet as to most other points they all, more or less, disagree—and, as to some of the more important ones, not a little, the Jewish as well as the Roman. Scarce two of them agree as to the cause of their expulsion—the year when it happened—the person by whom they were expelled—or, the consequence, the period for which they were expelled. And, what is still more remarkable, they all, we perceive, seemingly, carefully avoid to tell us that those Jews, who acknowledged their belief that Jesus was the Christ, were also expelled, notwithstanding they must, by the account of two of those writers, have, at that time, been very numerous, and had, by the account of one of them—viz—Tacitus, been, above other Jews, kept in awe at Rome, and had, by that of three early Christian writers, been also expelled in the same reign.

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Let us next proceed to examine each of the accounts which those four writers have given of this matter.—And, first, let us attend to what Tacitus says of it.

Tacitus informs us, A. ii. 85, that in the year 772, T. 5 or 6, the Jewish or Egyptian rites, for some reason which he does not assign, excited the attention of, not Tiberius, but the Senate—and, that a decree was then made, by the Senate, that those who practised Jewish or Egyptian rites should no longer remain at Rome, or in Italy—that is, unless they would, by a fixed day, relinquish their superstitious customs. He moreover informs us that the Senate, not content with this enormous stretch of power, ordered (and without assigning any reason for it) 4,000 of such libertine youths as had been infected with that superstition to Sardinia (a province, at that time, as Strabo* and Dion† say, under their jurisdiction)—not merely as a place of confinement, but to suppress the pirates, or, it may have been to perish. His own words are—*Actum et de sacris ægyptiis judaicisque pellen- dis: factaque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis, eâ superstitione infecta, queis idonea ætas, in insulam Sardiniam vehe- rentur, coercendis illic latrociniis, et si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, vile damnum: ceteri cederent Italiâ, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.*

And did the Senate indeed presume, contrary to their usual practice, to take, in the year 772, cognizance of the religions of other states, and even of a people who had, as Josephus says,‡ been allied to the Romans more than a century and a half, as well as that of a conquered people, whose religion was more ancient than their own, if not old enough to have been the parent of it?—Were not the religions of the conquered nations always tolerated?—Had not that of the Jews

* l. xvii, p. 578. † l. 53, p. 503, D. ‡ A. xii. 10, 5.

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been not only tolerated, but even respected by each of the Cæsars?—And had not that of the Egyptians been introduced, by the Triumvirs, into Rome?—If they did presume to do so, do they not appear to have forgotten the oath which they had, as Dion, we have just seen, says, taken a year or two before, to observe all the acts of Augustus? And do they not, in that case, appear, even by the account of Tacitus himself, A. iii. 60, to have usurped a power which did not then belong to them, and which, he says, Tiberius did not concede to them before the year 775?—Tiberius, he says, then, by way of consolidating his power, afforded the Senate a shadow of their ancient rights, and they, he says, in pursuance of their revived privilege, proceeded to enquire into the abuses of the foreign asyla, and, by way of doing it effectually, proceeded to examine the pretensions of the Deities worshipped by their allies. If now Tiberius did not concede the ancient privilege of enquiring into the religious affairs of the provinces till the year 775, why should we suppose that the Senate, in the year 772, presumed to enquire into the religious concerns of foreign states, and, especially of those of the Jews and Egyptians only?—What provocation could those two states have given them?—And why should they have pronounced their religions to have been indiscriminately superstitious?—If the religion of the Jews was so very superstitious, why did Cyrus behave so very kindly towards them, and particularly towards those in captivity?—And why did Alexander, in his way to the east, behave so respectfully to their priests, and afterwards treat those in Egypt as Macedonians, especially those who inhabited his new-founded city Alexandria?—Why did Ptolemy Philadelphus, a few

* ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ (711) ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΟΤΩΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΝ Τῶ ΤΕ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΔΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΙΣΙΔΙ ΕΨΗΦΙΣΑΝΤΟ. Dion, l. 47, p. 336, A.

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years after, desire to have a translation of the laws which they used, and why did he offer for it the redemption of 120,000 Jewish captives, &c. &c.?—Why did Seleucus Nicator, after the example of Alexander, grant to them the same indulgences, as he did to the Macedonians, in all the new-built cities of Asia and Syria, and especially at Antioch? Why did Antiochus the Great write to all his præfects specifying what favors he willed them to bestow on the Jews, for their services?—All this Tacitus appears, by what he says, Hist. iv. 8, to have overlooked, for he there says—while the Assyrians, the Medes, and Persians possessed the east, the Jews were the most contemptible slaves—*Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium*—and immediately after he adds—under the Macedonians, Antiochus would have civilised that most savage people and removed their *superstition*, but was prevented by the breaking out of the Parthian war—*postquam Macedones præpotuere, rex Antiochus* demere superstitionem, et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est*. But though Tacitus does not seem to have been aware of the great favors which Cyrus, Alexander, and his successors conferred on the Jews, yet how could he have contrived to overlook what two of the first and two of the second Triumvirate did for them, especially what Pompey did, immediately after the reduction of Jerusalem?—Cicero, he ought to have known, says of that conqueror† that he took nothing from the temple, though Tacitus himself says, Hist. v. 8, it contained an immense treasure.—Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, ex illo fano nihil attigit. Josephus indeed informs us, A. xiv. 4, δ., that it, at the time,

* How differently does Josephus, A. xii. 3, δ., and xiii. 8, β., speak of the conduct of two other princes of this line towards the Jews.

† Pro Flacco.

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contained, besides the sacred vessels, two thousand talents. And Agrippa, and, after him, Vespasian and Titus, he ought to have known, though importuned by the adversaries of the Jews to withhold from those of Asia and Syria their ancient privileges, refused to comply. Now who that considers all the evidence in favor of the religion of the Jews can help being astonished at hearing Tacitus so confidently assert that it was so intolerably superstitious as to make the Senate think it necessary to order all the Jews to leave Rome?—In what did their excessive superstition consist?—Seneca, we find, says, Ep. 108, p. 635, that when the sacred rites of the provinces were, in the reign of Tiberius, and in his own youthful days, scrutinized, one of the arguments of superstition was, the abstinence from certain meats—and that he himself, for a year after, conformed to that superstitious practice, and found himself the better for it. Strabo says, xvi. p. 524, that the successors of Moses continued, for a great length of time, to follow his directions, in truth worshipping God and doing what was right—δικαιοπραγόντες καὶ θεοσεβείς ὡς ἀληθῶς οντες.—and that, in process of time, superstitious persons, who recommended abstinence from certain sorts of animal food, found means to introduce that practice generally among them, which, says he, is followed at the present time—ὡν περ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπεχεσθαι.—Now if the superstition of the Jews and of the people infected with it consisted chiefly in abstaining from certain sorts of meats, and even Seneca thought it not amiss to conform to their practice, why should the Senate have presumed, for that reason chiefly, to expel them from Italy, ought they not to have expelled Seneca too?—Especially, as, we find, he says, that he continued to follow the practice a year after the Senate took the liberty of prying into the sacred rites of foreigners?

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But were the religions of the Jews and Egyptians, indeed, so very like?—Does not Tacitus himself say, Hist. v. 3, that Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, expelled the Jews from that country, as being a set of wretches whom the Gods hated—*ut invisum deis*—and does he not say again, chapter 4, that Moses, after they had been expelled from thence, enjoined them, by way of securing to himself their allegiance, to adopt rites which he had devised, and, which were not like those practised by any other people—*Moses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret; novos ritus, contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit.*—And; does he not, immediately after, proceed to inform us that the Jews not only practised rites totally different from all those practised by the Romans, but that they *sacrificed some of those very animals which the Egyptians adored?*—*Profana illic omnia, quæ apud nos sacra: rursus concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta. Effigies animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere: cæso ariete velut in contumeliam Hammonis. Bos quoque immolatur, quem Ægyptii colunt.*—And does he not again, in the next chapter, endeavour to convince us that *the religious notions and practices of the Jews were totally different from those of the Egyptians?*—*Ægyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur. Judæi mente solâ, unumque numen intelligunt: Profanos, qui deum imagines, mortalibus materiis, in speciem hominum effingunt: Summum illud et æternum, neque mutabile, neque interitum. Igitur nulla simulachra urbibus suis, nedum templis sunt.**—All this Tacitus himself says in the v. book of his history—why then should we be expected to believe what he says in the ii. book of his annals of the identity of the jewish and egyptian superstition?—And as to what he says of Moses, how different is it from what Diodorus and Strabo, who each lived in Egypt,

* And yet he had, but just before, told us—*Effigies animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere.*—See chapter 9.

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say of him?—Diodorus, it seems, by his own report i. book, obtained this account of him from the Egyptian priests—viz—that he was the most ancient and therefore the first lawgiver—μετα γαρ την παλαιαν τε κατ' Αιγυπτον βιε κατασησιν την μυθολογημενην γενεσθαι επι Θεων και ηρωων, πεῖσαι φασι εγγραφοις νομοις πρῶτον χρῆσθαι τα πληθη και βιῆν Μῶσεν, ανδρα και τῇ ψυχῇ μεγαλν, και τω βιω ικανωτατον μνημονεομενον.—And, a little after, Diodorus, enumerating ancient lawgivers, places Moses before all of them, then four egyptian lawgivers, and *Bocchoris* as the fourth. And of Moses, he says, that he was, by the Jews, entitled a God, both because they expected that his wonderful and divine mind would benefit posterity—and, because people are apt to look up, with admiration, to the supereminence and energy of those who could devise laws—παρα μιν τοις Ιεδαίοις Μῶσην τον καλευμενον Θεον, ειτε θαυμασην και θειαν ολως εννοιαν ειναι κρινοντες την μελλεσαν ωφελησειν ανθρωπων πληθος, ειτε [και] προς την υπεροχην και δυναμιν των ευρειν λεγομενων της νομης αποβλεψαντα τον οχλον, μᾶλλον υπακχεσθαι διαλαβοντος. : τεταρτον δε φασι νομοθετην γεγενῆσθαι Βοκχοριν τον βασιλεα.—By this extract, then we find, that Diodorus contradicts Tacitus both with regard to the time when the Jews left Egypt, and, with regard to the legislation of Moses. And, we also find, that Strabo, who also resided in Egypt a long while, contradicts him with regard to the reason which induced Moses to depart from Egypt and with regard to his character as a legislator, for he, we find, says, l. xvi. p. 523, that he was an egyptian priest, and, that he, being disgusted at the superstitious ways of the country, left it, and, with him, many who feared the deity—Μωσης γαρ τις των Αιγυπτιων ιερεων εχων τι μέρος της καλεμενης χρωρας, απῆρεν εκῆισε ενθενδε δυσχεραντας τα καθεστῶτα, και συνεξηραν αυτω πολλοι τιμωντες το θεῖον.—Strabo having thought it necessary to introduce his account of the Jews and Judea with this preliminary account of Moses, proceeds then to relate what that lawgiver himself said—viz—“ He, says Strabo, affirmed and taught that the Egyptians, who assim-

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“lated the Deity to wild beasts and cattle,* had not proper notions of
 “him—that the Libyans had not—that the Greeks too erred by re-
 “presenting him in a human form—that the Deity was that one being
 “which contains all the race of man, and the world, or, as we say,
 “the heavens and the earth and all nature, whose image no wise
 “person would undertake to exhibit by any object of sense.—What
 “rational being would think of representing such a being by any ob-
 “ject that he sees?—All animal representations of him being there-
 “fore irrational, they that would consecrate any acceptable inclosure
 “or fane to him would not think of giving it any particular form—
 “that he signifies his approbation of the upright by good dreams for
 “themselves and for others—that such as live soberly and uprightly
 “may expect from him some compensation and sign of his ap-
 “probation—that others may not.”—ΕΦΗ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς ἐκ
 ὀρθῶς φρονῶσιν οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ θηρίοις εἰκαζόντες, βοσκημασί το θεῖον ἐδ’ οἱ Αἰῶνες ἐκ
 εἰ δ’ ἐδ’ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρωπομορφῶς τυπῶντες, κ. τ. λ.—By preaching such
 doctrine he, continues Strabo, prevailed on *not a few well-disposed per-*
sons to follow him to Jerusalem, where the temple now stands. Here
 he promised them the protection of that Deity, and such a form of
 worship as would be attended neither with expensive ceremonies, nor
 with extravagant raptures, nor with unseemly actions. All this, says
 Strabo, happened according to promise, which when all the surround-
 ing races perceived, they placed themselves under his government,
 which, by those accessions, was rendered respectable. His successors,
 proceeds Strabo, continued to pursue the same course, doing what was
 right, and worshipping the Deity in truth—δικαιοπραγόντες, καὶ θεοσεβείς
 ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες.—Notwithstanding Strabo here says that the successors
 of Moses continued to follow his steps, yet it is rather remarkable that
 he, in the course of the same page, also says that they afterwards did

* See p. 559.

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not follow his steps—and, that some of the separatists laid waste both Judea and the neighbouring country—Τοιοῦτος δὲ τὶς ἦν καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς, καὶ οἱ διαδεξαμένοι ἐκείνον τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς λαβόντες ἔφαυλας ἐκτραπομένοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφίσταμενοι τὴν χώραν ἐκάκην, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν γειτνιώσαν. p. 524.

The evidence of Diodorus and Strabo, as to the time when the Jews left Egypt, and the religious tenets of Moses, are then, we find, contradictory of that given by Tacitus on the same points. What reason then have we to acquiesce in what he says of the superstition of the Jews?—If they were, at any time, supposed to have adopted superstitious notions, why should we not conclude, from what Strabo says immediately after, that their superstition consisted not, as Strabo says, *in circumcision and excision*, but in abstaining from certain sorts of animal food?—A practice which, one should have thought, could not have given offence to any one, and which Seneca, we find, says, was beneficial to him. And as to the superstition of the Egyptians he says not a word, on the contrary, he says enough to convince us that the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians were not then thought to be at all superstitious. In the first book, p. 16, (which book, it may not be amiss to observe, he is thought to have written before the end of the year 772, and several years after Tiberius succeeded Augustus,) he tells us that the Egyptian priests were, by those *who preceded him*, held in the highest estimation—τῆς θ' ἱερέας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγας, σοφία τινι διαφέροντες τῶν ἀλλῶν, ἡ γεμονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς προημῶν ἔτω δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν χρησίων τίνος εὐρετόν γενομένον τίμασθαι.—And again, in the xii, he tells us, first at p. 541, that they were, on account of their knowledge of philosophy and astronomy, conversant with their kings—οἱ θ' ἱερεῖς καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἥσκον καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, οἰκιστὰς τε τῶν βασιλείων ἦσαν—lastly, he, at p. 554, tells us that Plato and Eudoxus were said to have spent 13 years in Egypt with the priests, and, that the Grecians derived their knowledge of astronomy

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from the Egyptians. In short—how could the superstition of those two nations have been the same, when as Tacitus himself says, Hist. v. 5, they had contrary notions about heavenly things—*cælestium contra?*

Besides—Tacitus and Juvenal, we find, represent the conduct of those two nations, towards their own countrymen, to have been totally different.—Tacitus says, Hist. v. 5, of the Jews—*Necare quenquam ex agnatis, nefas*:—Juvenal tells us, xv. 33, that the antipathy that existed between two neighbouring egyptian clans about religion, was so great that they not only killed each other, but even devoured the carcases of the slain:

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas
Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod Numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus; cum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit, &c.

Philo, besides telling us how very superior the religion of the Jews was to those of all other people; also tells us, *de vitâ* M. p. 508, C. D., how little regard all the rest of the world had for the religious institutions of each other—*τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βαρβαρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπῆιν, ἑδὲ μὴ πόλις ἐστὶ, ἢ τὰ ἑτέρας νομιμα τιμᾶ, μολὶς δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς εἰσάει περιέχεται, πρὸς τὰς τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μεθαρμοζομένη τροπὰς. Ἀθηναῖοι κ. τ. λ.*—He also tells us, in Fl., how the Alexandrians, within a few months only after the death of Tiberius, petitioned Flaccus for leave to persecute the Jews of that city for their religion. And, lastly, Josephus, in his dispute with Apion, ii. §. 6, p. 1367, represents that adversary of the Jews as attempting to prove that the Jews of Alexandria could not be free of that city, as the natives were, *because they did not worship*

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the same God.—Sed super hoc: quomodo ergo, inquit, si sunt cives, eosdem Deos, quos Alexandrini non colunt? Cui respondeo: Quomodo etiam, cum vos sitis Ægyptii, inter alterutros prælio magno et sine fædere *de religione* contenditis?—Now as so many writers, three of whom lived in Egypt, attest the discrepancy between the jewish religion and every one of the egyptian, and of the egyptian between each other, why should Tacitus have assumed it as granted that all the religions of the Egyptians were the same, and precisely like that of the Jews?

But, after all, had the religions of those two people been precisely the same, how will it be made to appear that their religion was more superstitious than that of the Romans?—Had not the Romans derived the worship of some if not of most of their Deities from the Egyptians? At least does not Strabo say, xvii, that some of the Egyptians were worshippers of Jupiter, some of Apollo, others of Venus, and others again of Pallas, &c.?—And does not Dion say, l. 48, p. 336, that the Triumvirs, in the year 711, that is, before Egypt was made a Roman province, erected a temple to Serapis and Isis?—And as to the 4,000 young men, citizens, who, he says, were, for their superstition, by the Senate, sent, as soldiers, to Sardinia, (admitting that Sardinia then belonged to them) what right had they to punish them so much more severely for their supposed superstition?—Whether they were previously enlisted or not, what right had they to order them any where, especially as they belonged to provinces confessedly under the control of the emperor?—Tacitus tells us that they were sent to Sardinia to prevent piracy—coercendis illic latrociniiis;—but do not Paterculus and Suetonius inform us that Tiberius was himself very industrious to prevent piracy?—Paterculus says, ii. 126, that Tiberius

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had, before the 16th year of his reign, entirely suppressed piracy—*pax augusta per omnes terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes.*—Suetonius says in the beginning of the chapter next after that in which he speaks of the expulsion of the Jews, &c. that Tiberius put an entire stop to the depredations of pirates—*Imprimis tuendæ pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniiis seditionumque licentiâ curam habuit.*

Lastly—Tacitus says, that all the rest were ordered—that is, in the year 772, to leave Italy, unless they would, by a fixed day, relinquish their profane rites. But if all this took place in the year 772, it must have happened before the death of Drusus, who, we find, by Josephus, was ever fond of the company of Agrippa. How then is it that Agrippa had no interest at court, to prevent this general expulsion of his countrymen?—How is it that he was permitted to remain at Rome till the death of Drusus?—Did he too renounce his religion?—How is it to be accounted for that Tiberius, at the request of the Jews, rebuked Pilate so severely for having presumed to introduce the Roman standards into Jerusalem?—How happened it that Paulina, the wife of Saturninus was, as Josephus says, in the year 783, a votary of Isis—and that, that Goddess had, in that year, a temple at Rome?—How was it that Fulvia too was permitted to become a *profelyte*?—How was it that those four jewish vagabonds, mentioned by Josephus, found admission at Rome?—And, lastly, how is it that Luke tells us that there were at Jerusalem, in the year 781, “strangers of Rome, Jews, as well as Profelytes?”

Besides—how is it that no other roman or jewish writer has mentioned this expulsion?—Even Philo and Josephus appear not to have been aware of this expulsion of their countrymen. They each appear to deny it. Philo says, leg. 785, F.. that the Jews were, even at Rome,

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as quiet all through the reign of Tiberius as they had been under that of their benefactor Augustus, excepting only when Sejanus obtained leave to disturb their repose to prevent their taking up arms in aid of Tiberius. Josephus not only says that even Fulvia, on whose account the Jews were expelled from Rome, just before the death of Sejanus, was, before she was deceived by the jewish outcasts, a proselyte, but that she thought it no new thing to be expected to give something towards the support of the temple.

On re-considering all that Tacitus says of this matter why should we not conclude that he appears to have been quite ignorant of the jewish religion, if not of the egyptian too—and, that he appears to have been almost as ignorant of the affairs of his own country, by saying that the Senate (who, he himself says, often asked and followed the advice of Tiberius on extraordinary matters,) took the liberty of prying into the religious concerns of other countries, and especially of the Jews, which he ought to have known were secured by compact—and, of sending those 4,000 libertines (who, as being Jews and Egyptians, must have been subject to the emperor,) to Sardinia, as soldiers. And, on comparing what he here says, with what he says, iii. 60, why should we not conclude that he appears to have antedated this event not a little, if not that he appears to have contradicted himself?

Let us now attend to what Suetonius says of this event:

Suetonius says, c. 36, that Tiberius, notwithstanding he was, as we have seen in the last CHAP., ever fond of Jews and of their religion, notwithstanding he, as Strabo says, vi. p. 199, followed all the rules prescribed by Augustus, notwithstanding he, as Dion says, l. 58,

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p. 607, C., swore to observe all the acts of Augustus, (who, as Suetonius himself acknowledges, ii. 93, had the most profound reverence for all ancient religious institutions,) and compelled the Senate to do so too, and, notwithstanding he, as Suetonius himself acknowledges, iii. 41, 69, cared nothing about the republic, or about religion, and the Gods—notwithstanding all this evidence to the contrary, Suetonius, we find, tells us that Tiberius forbade the continuance of Jewish or Egyptian rites at Rome—that he compelled all who were addicted to *that superstition* to burn every vest and utensil necessary for the performance of its rites—that he dispersed the *Jewish youth* all over the *unhealthy* provinces—that is, surely, the imperial provinces, and therefore not Sardinia, unless he had then exchanged some other for it—that he did it *per speciem sacramenti*—that is, we are told,* as soldiers—and, that he ordered all *the rest of the same nation*, or, the *like sectaries* to leave the *city*—and, that he threatened them with perpetual *servitude*† if they would not obey.—His own words are—*Externas cæremonias, ægyptios judaicosque ritus compescuit: coactis qui superstitione eâ tenebantur, religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit: reliquos ejusdem gentis, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pænâ perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperassent.*—All this Suetonius says Tiberius did, and pretty clearly, after the spring of the year 781—for then the rulers of the Jews said to Pilate “We have no king but Cæsar,”—and then they possessed the privilege of demanding the release of any state delinquent—and, after Midsummer in that year, for a little before, there were, says Luke, at Jerusalem, devout strangers of Rome, Jews, and Profelytes—and,

* *Per speciem honoris*, iii. 65.—Under a pretence of conferring honor on Sejanus.

† Does not this seem to imply that these Jews of Rome were libertines.

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after the beginning of 782, for then there were at Jerusalem jewish libertines, says the same writer—and probably when the year 783 was pretty far advanced, for in that year they still possessed the privilege of sending to strange cities for transgressors of the law, and, as the Talmud of Jerusalem says, the power of putting any one to death—that is, seemingly, the year after the sacred rites of foreign nations were scrutinized, for then Seneca says, that he, in compliance with the request of his father, ceased to follow the *superstition* of some of them, in abstaining from the food of certain animals.

Let us next hear what Josephus says of the expulsion of his countrymen from Rome :

Josephus, after having given us an account, A. xviii. 4, γ., of the works &c. of our Lord, proceeds, in the next §. δ., to say how *another disaster* αλλο τι δεινον* about the same time—Και υπο της αυτης χρονος—befell the Jews. But though he raises our expectation in this unusual manner, he does not immediately proceed to gratify it. Before I, says he, proceed to give an account of this other disaster which, at this time, befell the Jews, I request your attention to an irrelevant anecdote concerning Isis, the Goddess of the Egyptians, her temple at Rome, and her priests.† And having indulged himself with this digression, in the end of that §. he says again—κατα της χρονος τετατες.—He then proceeds, in §. ε., to relate the expulsion of the Jews.

Fulvia, says he, the wife of Saturninus, a Patrician, and one of the friends of Tiberius, had embraced the jewish religion. After she had become a profelyte to it, she placed herself under the instruction of a

* Those who contend that Josephus did not record the previous account of our Lord, are desired to tell us what he means by *another disaster*.

† By this it appears that the Egyptians had, at that time, a temple, &c. at Rome—and, that they were not expelled.

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certain Jew, who, for fear of the punishment which he deserved for transgressing the law, and for his total depravity, had fled from his country; but who, notwithstanding his transgression of the law, pretended to be an interpreter of it. This noble lady, says he, not satisfied with the instructions which she received from this wicked would be doctor, attended likewise those of three or four other vagabonds, in all things as bad as her first teacher. By those four outcasts she was persuaded to send costly presents to Jerusalem, which they took care to apply to their own use. Saturninus, (and not the Jews of Rome,) says Josephus, complained of this fraud, not to any magistrate, but to Tiberius, then at Capreæ, immersed in indolence and vice, and totally indifferent about the republic, or religion, and the Gods. Tiberius, our historian proceeds to say, on hearing of this fraud, instead of punishing those four impostors, ordered every thing jewish—*παν το Ιουδαϊκον**—that is, we suppose, the Jews, and, at least, their proselytes, if not their believing countrymen, to be driven from Rome. The consuls,† subjoins he, at the time making a levy,‡ took 4,000 of them and sent them not, as Suetonius says, into the unhealthy provinces,

* Φέρει δε και επι της αλλης ανθρωπης οσοι τα νομιμα αυτων, και περ αλλοεθνεσ οντες, ζηλῶσι. Dion, l. 37, p. 37, B.

κεχωριδαται δε απο των λοιπων ανθρωπων ες τε τα αλλα τα περι την διαιτην πανθ' ως ειπεῖν, και μαλιστα' οτι των μεν αλλων θεων εδενε τιμῃσι, ενα δε τινα ισχυρως σεβουσιν. B. C.

† This event, we shall see presently, he appears to have placed in the year 783, when M. Vinucius Quartinus and C. Cassius Longinus were consuls.

‡ Paterculus says, ii. 130, that Tiberius made this levy, and, that he made it without causing the least disturbance—*Quantâ cum quiete hominum, rem perpetui præcipique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione dilectus, providit?*

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but to Sardinia, and punished most of the rest for refusing, in obedience to Moses, to enlist.* All these were, for the one offence of those four impostors, so punished and expelled from Rome.

Now as this jewish impostor found it necessary to leave Judea on account of his having transgressed the law of Moses, why should we not suppose that he had done something to deserve death?—For what other crime should he have thought it necessary to leave his native country?—If then this jewish transgressor had been obliged to leave Judea to avoid a capital punishment, and soon after the crucifixion of Jesus, does it not seem to imply that Israel had still the power of inflicting capital punishments?—But whether he had or had not done something worthy of death, if he fled for having transgressed the law of Moses, why, if the Jews had then the privilege of sending to strange cities for transgressors of the law, did they not send to Rome to apprehend him?—Especially if, as Josephus says, he had aggravated his former transgressions by embezzling the voluntary oblations of this honorable proselyte to the support of the service of the temple?—For, in that case, he must have been guilty of a breach of those six edicts published by Augustus, Agrippa, &c. and recited by Josephus, A. xvi. 6, β. γ. δ. ε. ζ., which edicts, Tiberius, who, as Dion says, l. 57, p. 607, C., had sworn to observe all the acts of Augustus, and had compelled the Senate to do so too, must be supposed to have still enforced. And if the privilege of sending to strange cities for transgressors of the law of Moses was then also taken from them, why did they not complain of his having acted in defiance of those edicts?—Tiberius, surely, would have caused them to be enforced.—But instead of telling us that the Jews took any step to punish those vile transgressors of their law, he would have us to believe that Satur-

* Does not this too seem to imply that those Jews were libertines?

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ninus,* who, no doubt, knew that his wife was a profelyte, and, that it was expected of profelytes to make presents to the temple, went himself to Capreæ, and complained of the fraud to Tiberius. And what said Tiberius?—Was he not offended at Saturninus for interrupting his repose with such a filly complaint?—especially if he had, as Dion says, then surrendered the management of every thing to Sejanus?—Or, did he give orders to try them?—Not he indeed. Instead of doing so, he, says Josephus, not only ordered every thing jewish—*παν το Ιουδαιικον*—that is—two or three myriads of Jews, with their profelytes, if not believers and unbelievers, to leave Rome—but likewise 4,000 jewish libertines to be sent to Sardinia† as soldiers, and punished most of the rest of the *libertines* for refusing to serve. And all this, as Josephus would have us to believe, for the offence of this self exiled wretch and his three accomplices:

So replete with incredible particulars is the account which this prince of sacerdotal historians has had the assurance to recommend to our notice—and, as attested by Agrippa, the younger.—An account never objected to by learned interpreters, though calculated only for the inhiation of the illiterate! And an account in which there is much more falshood than any one can well estimate without attending to the particulars. Let us endeavour to make ourselves acquainted with them.

* How could this Saturninus, if he was any way related to Saturninus mentioned by Dion as having been, for writing verses against Tiberius, præcipitated from the Capitol, six years before, have presumed to trouble Tiberius with any complaint, and especially with so silly an one against his friends the Jews?

† He begins §. δ. thus—And about the same time—*Και υπο της αυτης χρονος*—(the resurrection of Jesus) another sad disaster befell the Jews of Rome.—And, he ends it thus—I now proceed to relate what happened to the Jews of Rome, at this time—*κατα τετον τον χρονον*.

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In the first place, he, it should be observed, has not told us the names of those four transgressors of the law, nor the nature of their transgressions, nor why, as the Jews then possessed the privilege of sending to strange cities for such transgressors, those four Israelites were, not only, not apprehended, but permitted to live unmolested at Rome, and to set up for interpreters of that very law which they had transgressed—an occupation which they could not follow in private nor in public, unless they had been of the tribe of Levi. *In the next place*, he says, that this execrable wretch found means to ingratiate himself with this noble lady, (who, he says, was before a proselyte,) and not only he, but three others as worthless as himself. *In the third place*, we perceive, he does not say that they taught any thing contrary to the law. Indeed as Fulvia was before a proselyte to its spirit, and must, of course, be supposed to have been, in a great measure, acquainted with its precepts, it cannot be supposed that she would have listened to them, if they had attempted to instill tenets into her contrary to those received by other proselytes.—*In the fourth place*, he informs us that this worthless gang contrived to obtain from her valuable presents, in addition, no doubt, to her accustomed oblations for the temple, which they took care to apply to their own use—and, without reminding us of those several edicts which, he had before said, were published by Augustus, and Agrippa, &c. threatening punishment to such offenders.—*In the fifth place*, we find, he would have us to believe that Fulvia did not complain of this sacrilegious fraud to Sejanus, though that minister had, as Dion says, found means to recommend himself to the esteem of all the noble married ladies of Rome, and for the purpose of discovering the sentiments and actions of their husbands, and had rendered them subservient to his views, but to her husband, who, and not the Jews of Rome, complained of it, (not to any magistrate,) but, to Tiberius, then residing

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at Capreæ, and totally inattentive to all political affairs, (even to the internal pavor,) if not overcome with grief.—*In the sixth place*, he says that Tiberius, who, as Agrippa told Caius, p. 800, D., was, though by no means apt to be irritable, enraged when he heard that Pilate had presumed to introduce his standards into the holy city—and, who, as the same writer told the same prince, p. 801, F., continued, at the very time, the daily oblation of a bull and two lambs—and, who, as Josephus himself says, A. xviii. 2, γ., was intimately acquainted with Herod, the tetrarch—and, who, as he again says, 7, δ., was glad to hear of the return of Agrippa to Italy, a year or two after—notwithstanding all this, he assures us, that Tiberius, on hearing of the sacrilegious fraud, instead of punishing those unprincipled Israelites, according to the tenor of the edicts published by his two fathers-in-law, instantly ordered every thing jewish, or, the Jews, believing and unbelieving, and their proselytes (among whom we, surely, may reckon Fulvia) to leave Rome.—*In the last place*, he says, that Tiberius, who, as Philo says, p. 783, F., always lived in peace—who, as Paterculus says, ii. 126, was, at no time, more blessed with it than in the 16th year—who, as Tacitus says, iv. 74, was totally unconcerned at the revolt of the Frisii—who, as Suetonius says, iii. 37, never undertook any expedition afterwards, not content with all this severity towards twenty or thirty thousand Jews, and their proselytes, for this single offence of three or four wretches, for which the roman as well as the jewish laws had provided a punishment, ordered the consuls to enlist most of *their libertines*,* and (though Paterculus remarks, ii. 130, with

* Philo, ad C. p. 785, C., says, that the Jews of Rome occupied a great part of the city—and, that they were mostly freedmen.—πῶς ἔν ἀπεδεχέτο τὴν περὶ τῆ Τιβερίου ποταμῷ μεγάλην τῆς Ρώμης ἀποτομὴν, ἣν ἐκ ἡγνοῦν κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκημένην πρὸς ἰσθμίων, ῥωμαῖοί δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖς ἀπελευθερωθέντες. αἰχμαλωταὶ γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἠλευθερώθησαν, ἔθεν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιάσθεντες.

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how little inconvenience to the public he had, just before, raised a levy,) to punish those who refused to enlist, and to send 4,000 of those who did enlist to Sardinia, one, as Pausanias says,* of his own provinces, there, as Tacitus and Suetonius, we have seen, say, to perish by the inclemency of the climate.—And, all this he says, without telling us why those libertines were treated worse than others—and, why those who did enlist were treated worse than those who did not—and, without telling us how long this severity lasted.

Of those several most incredible particulars does this jumble of falsehoods consist. And though any one of common sense may fancy that he sees the enormity of the component parts, and, consequently of the whole—yet to view it as a solitary monster of jewish fiction, will not be enough—it will be necessary to place it in contrast with an egyptian of somewhat the same cast.

In the section immediately preceding (δ) Josephus relates how Decius Mundus wanted to seduce Paulina, the wife of *Saturninus*, who, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Egyptians, as Tacitus says, seven or eight years before, happened to be a votary of Isis. Paulina resisted his overture. Mundus then applied to the priests of Isis, who, on being well rewarded, went to Paulina and told her that the God Anubis would be glad to have a night's lodging with her: this made her vain, and—&c. This Saturninus also made his complaint to Tiberius.—And what followed?—Were the Egyptians all expelled from Rome?—No such thing, though Suetonius, we have just seen, says, that they were.—What then?—Tiberius ordered all the priests to be crucified, the temple of Isis to be demolished, and her statue to be thrown into the Tyber.

* Και ελευθερον ο Νερων αφησιν απαντων, αλλαγην προς δημον ποιησαμενος του Ρωμαιων. Σαρδω γαρ την νησον ες τα μαλιστα ευδαιμονα αντι Ελλαδος σφισιν αντεδωκεν.

Pausan. p. 428.

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Josephus, it should be observed, does not precisely mention the year when this expulsion of his countrymen from Rome happened.—He only says that it happened after the death of our Lord.—And for the reasons before adduced by us, in examining the report which Suetonius has made of this affair, it cannot be supposed to have happened before the year 783.—Some indeed may be almost inclined to infer this, from the consideration that Josephus has afterwards, vii. 5., mentioned the conspiracy of Sejanus, in which most of the libertines were concerned—and, from this, that he says that it was the consuls—οἱ ὑπάτοι—who punished the jewish libertines for refusing to enlist.—In his account of the expulsion of the Jews he does not intimate that the conspiracy of Sejanus then took place—nor, in his account of the conspiracy of Sejanus, does he say that the expulsion of the Jews then took place.

Let us, in the last place, enquire what Philo says of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome :

Philo, in two of his works—viz—in Fl. and ad C., seemingly alludes to their expulsion.—In his work, ad C., after having told us how very kind Augustus always was to the Jews of Rome, he proceeds to tell us how Tiberius behaved to them in the same manner, till just before the death of Sejanus: when he, till the death of that minister, disturbed the repose of all those in Italy. The strict version of his own words is nearly this—and under Tiberius it was exactly the same, excepting only the agitation of those in Italy, when Sejanus was fabricating the imposition—καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καὶ τοὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παρακινήθεντων, ἥνικα Σηϊανὸς ἐσευῶρει τὴν ἐπιθεσίην.—By which it appears that not only the Jews of Rome, but those of Italy, were in commotion when Sejanus was fabricating his imposition, but, for what reason, it does not appear, unless it was because they not only knew that Sejanus was

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fabricating his imposition, (which, surely, would imply, according to the report of Juvenal* and Dion† of this affair, that the Jews all over Italy knew more of this matter than the inhabitants of Rome,) but, that his imposition would affect them. But were it indeed so, what reason had they, as they were so thoroughly convinced that Tiberius was their friend, to be alarmed on that account?—In how very different a manner does Philo, V. Maximus, and Juvenal speak of this supposed plot of Sejanus! *Philo* says, that the Jews only or chiefly would oppose it, and that Sejanus, on that account, prevailed on Tiberius to expel them. *V. Maximus* says, that Sejanus intended to massacre all the people of *Rome*, that the peace of the *whole world* would have been disturbed. *Juvenal* says, that the people of Rome did not know, even after the death of Sejanus, for what crime he had suffered. Of what nature was this imposition that it could have affected all the Jews of Italy so much more than the people of Rome?—Was it an imposition that was likely to affect the sovereignty of their great benefactor the emperor?—If it was, must not the Jews have, notwithstanding they, as the Talmud of Jerusalem says, had, in the year 783, been deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishments, and of the privilege of demanding the release of any prisoner every year, been very much attached to his government?—But if such was the attachment of all the Jews of Italy to the person and government of Tiberius, how is it that Josephus assures us, A. xviii. 8, β., that Herod, the tetrarch, was, by his brother-in-law Agrippa, accused to Caius‡ of having been concerned in it?—Do not Philo and Josephus seem to disagree, not a little, in their evidence on this point?—Let us how-

* Sat. x. 69, &c. Sed quo, &c. † Dion, l. 58, p. 624, D.

‡ Josephus says, B. ii. 9, ε., that Agrippa went, before the death of Piso, to Rome to accuse Herod of something to Tiberius—and, that he took no notice of it.

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ever proceed to hear what Philo says followed, immediately on the fall of Sejanus, this commotion of the Jews of Italy.

He continues thus—"Immediately after whose death, Tiberius, " knowing that the things he had said, against the Jews of Rome, " were false and invented by himself, and that he aimed at injuring, " not only those of Rome or those of Italy, but, the whole nation, as " being aware that, besides their engagement to defend the life of the " emperor, they would be the first, if not the only people, to oppose " his impious intentions and actions, enjoined his ordained ministers, " every where, to comfort those that were residing in heathen cities, " but to reprimand only the culpable, who were not many—and to " make no alteration in their customs, and to hold, as a deposit, their " persons as peaceable, and their laws as conducive to regularity."

—ΕΓΝΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΣ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝ, ΟΤΙ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΩΚΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ ΙΥΔΑΙΩΝ, ΨΕΥΔΕΙΣ ΉΣΑΝ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΑΙ, ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΗΙΑΝῚ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΡΨΑΣΑΙ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΟΣ, ΟΠΕΡ Η ΜΟΝΟΝ, Η ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΗΔΕΙ ΒΕΛᾶΙΣ ΑΝΟΣΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΞΕΣΙ ΑΝΤΙΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΥΠΕΡ ΤΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΠΟΝΔΗΘῆΝΑΙ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤῚΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΣΕ ΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΟΙΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΗΨΕ, ΠΑΡΑΓΟΡῆΣΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤῚ ΕΘΝΟΣ,* ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΙ (ΤΙΜΗΣΑΙ) ΜΟΝΣ ΤΣ ΑΙΤΙΣ, ΟΛΙΓΟΙ ΔΕ ΉΣΑΝ, ΚΙΝῆΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΔΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΞ ΕΘΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ, ΤΣ ΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΩΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΦΥΣΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΝΟΜΙΜΑ ΩΣ ΑΛΕΙΦΟΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΑΘΕΙΑΝ.†

But what?—Does Philo here indeed affirm that Tiberius, soon after the fall of Sejanus, knew that Sejanus had accused the Jews to him of several things falsely—that he knew that he did so in order to destroy the whole nation—that he also knew that the Jews would be the first,

* *ίσως, εθνος τιμωρομενος τς* says the margin.—But, what if we suppose that *επι* is only a part of the verb *επιτιμῆσαι*?—Would it not correspond a little better with *παραγορησαί*?

† Does not this last clause seem to be a plain contradiction of the Talmud of Jerusalem?—At least, if it is to be understood of capital punishments in general.

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if not the only people, to rise in his own defence, and, to oppose the impious *intentions* and *deeds* of Sejanus?—That he does indeed mean to affirm, at least, that Sejanus fought to destroy the whole nation of the Jews is rendered pretty evident by what he says in the beginning of his work against Flaccus, where he says, p. 747, that Flaccus was the next after Sejanus who conspired to injure the Jews—not the whole race, as Sejanus had done, for he had not so much power—
 ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ μετὰ Σηιανον Φλακκος Αἰλλιος διαδεχεται την κατα των Ιουδαιων επι
 Βαλην, συμπαν μεν αδικησαι το εθνος ωσπερ εκεινος ε δυνηθεις, ελαττους γαρ ειχε τας
 εις τετ' αφορμας.—By this then it appears that Philo meant to affirm that Sejanus formed a conspiracy, not only against the Jews of Rome or those of Italy, but against *the whole race*—that is, surely, against those who believed in Jesus Christ, as well as against those who did not believe in him, and, for the purpose of carrying into effect, it should seem, the imposition—and, that he had the address to persuade Tiberius to let him disturb those of Rome and Italy. But how could any prime minister have thought of injuring a whole nation, and so dispersed as the Jews were, and by accusing them to his sovereign, and to a sovereign so attached to them as, we have seen, Tiberius then was?—Of what could he have accused a whole nation, especially one so dispersed and divided as the Jewish nation then was?—Philo, and he only, tells us that it was to effect some imposition. Now if that imposition consisted in any project against his sovereign, why did not Sejanus, as he so far succeeded as to get the greatest obstacle removed, proceed to accomplish it?—However, if Tiberius did really order all the Jews to be expelled from Rome, in consequence of the charges alledged against them by Sejanus, and was, immediately after the fall of that minister, so convinced that the charges alledged against them were false, and, that they only, or chiefly, would have opposed Sejanus, and have defended himself, ordered all his præfects to treat those in

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Gentile cities with kindness—why did not Agrippa mention it in his epistle to Caius?—In that epistle, he, we find, speaks very highly of the protection which Tiberius *always* afforded the Jews, and of the respect which he manifested for the service of the temple, and though he, in it, adverts to the, as he was pleased to call it, severe treatment which he himself experienced from him, just before his death, yet he never alludes to expulsion of his countrymen from Rome. If we may believe Josephus this same Agrippa, went to Rome to accuse Herod of having been an accomplice with Sejanus in that conspiracy, which, if true, proves, surely, that Sejanus could not have conspired against *all* the Jews, at least, if not that he could not have conspired against any of them—and, that all the Jews were not well affected to Tiberius. Josephus too, though he speaks both of the expulsion of his countrymen, and, of the conspiracy of Sejanus, says, not that Sejanus was the cause of their expulsion. And of the conspiracy of Sejanus, he says, that he was supported by the Senate, by the *freedmen*, and by a great part of the army,* and (if the charge of Agrippa against Herod was, as he says, true) by him also. And he further says, that the discovery of it was made to Tiberius by Antonia, the mother of Livilla, who was, at last, by the consent, no doubt, of all parties, shortly to be married to him.†

* Suetonius says, iii. 48—*Militi nihil unquam largitus est, præterquam singula millia denariorum prætorianis, quod Sejano se non accommodassent.*—Now as Sejanus was the commander of those prætorian cohorts, how can it be thought that other divisions of the army would support him, if his own would not?—Suetonius subjoins—*et quædam munera Syriacis legionibus quod solæ nullam Sejani imaginem coluissent.*—And again, 65, he says—*Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam.*

† As Dion says, l. 58, p. 623, A., that Sejanus contrived to ingratiate himself with all the honorable married ladies of Rome, and, that he, in order to obtain the secrets of their husbands, promised them marriage, how can we be expected to believe that every one of them, knowing he was about to disappoint them by marrying Livilla, still concealed his treachery?

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Having now endeavoured to make ourselves acquainted with what Philo says of the commotion of the Jews of Italy, while Sejanus was fabricating the imposition, and what he appears to say of the different manner in which Tiberius behaved towards most of those in Gentile cities, and towards some of them immediately after the death of Sejanus. Let us in the last place attend to what he may be understood to say of the year when Sejanus fabricated the imposition, and thereby set the Jews of Italy in commotion.

In the year 782, says Tacitus, v. 4, 5, 6, when the Senate and the populace of Rome appeared to be ready for rebellion, Sejanus was very forward to oppose them. In the year 783, says Paterculus, ii. 127, 128, he was the obedient assistant of the emperor—and so, we may conclude, from what Juvenal says, S. x. 92, continued till his death. But if we may believe Suetonius, iii. 65, he was, before he was made consul, or before the year 784 began, meditating a revolution—and so long before the commencement of that year, that Tiberius had, before the year began, been apprised of it.—*Sejanum res novas motientem vix tandem et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subvertit. Nam primo ut se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi in quinto consulatu assumpsit, quem longo intervallo ob id ipsum susceperat.*—Now if Tiberius knew that Sejanus was, even while he was at Capreæ, plotting a revolution, and, was so confident of his own superiority in the art of counter plotting, as to send him to Rome to be his colleague in the consulship for the year 784, for the purpose of destroying him, how can we think that he, who, as Philo says, ad C. p. 772, A., knew mankind better than any one, either before or afterwards, permitted his prime minister to persuade him that the Jews, whom he, surely, knew, as well as Philo, to be as

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much attached to himself as they were hostile to Sejanus, had done certain things for which they ought to be expelled from Rome and Italy?

If we may believe Dion, l. 58, p. 623, A., Sejanus began, in the year 783, when he found that Tiberius had sent Drusus (who Tacitus says, iv. 36, was, in the year 778, præfect of the city,) to Rome, to be fearful that a change might take place, in the mind of Tiberius, and, for that reason, prevailed on Cassius Longinus, the colleague of Vinicius, (who, in the year 785, married Julia, the sister of Drusus,) to accuse him of something—*χρηματίζειν τι κατ' αὐτόν*.—And in the same page, B., he says, that Sejanus contrived, but a little before the beginning of the year 784, to keep his future colleague Tiberius (cunning as Suetonius says he was) in ignorance of every thing then transacting at Rome. But in p. 625, A., he says, that Sejanus was so vacillating between excessive pride and excessive fear that he could not resolve on attempting any thing. And again, at the bottom of that page, at E., he says, that he, when he found that Tiberius had made Caius (who, as being the son of Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and who had, as Suetonius says, iv. 12,* been lately married to Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus,) a priest, in the room of his brother Drusus, as well as himself and his son, *gave up all thought of making a revolution*. Consequently if, as Philo says, Sejanus, in order to accomplish his imposition, persuaded Tiberius to expel the Jews from Rome, it seems pretty clear, by the evidence above adduced, that he must have done it, at least, many months before he was put

* Non ita multo post Juniam Claudillam M. Silani nobilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. *Deinde* augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, priusquam inauguraretur, ad Pontificatum traductus est: insigni testimonio pietatis atque indolis: cum deserta desolatâque reliquis subsidiis aulâ, Sejano vero tunc suspecto, mox et oppresso, ad spem successionis paullatim admoveretur.

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to death, if not in the preceding year—viz—783. Indeed when we consider what Dion says, l. 58, p. 625, D.,—viz—that Tiberius would not permit him to come to Capreæ, we shall have the greater reason to acquiesce in the above conclusion.

The sum of what Philo says of the commotion among the Jews of Rome and Italy, in the reign of Tiberius, is this—Sejanus, in the year 783, (the very year in which the Talmud of Jerusalem says the power of inflicting capital punishments was taken from Israel, and the year before he married Livilla,) meditated some remarkable imposition.—What this imposition was he does not say—he leaves us to conjecture by the sequel.—This imposition, he intimates, Sejanus was aware the Jews at large (that, we suppose, is, believers and unbelievers,) would, if not alone, at least chiefly, oppose, partly from attachment to the interests of Tiberius, partly from opposition to his own wicked projects and feats, and therefore accused those of Rome to Tiberius of several things, but, as he himself says, falsely; and, by so doing, prevailed on Tiberius to let him use, not only those of Rome and Italy, but the whole nation, believers as well as unbelievers, unjustly.—All this Philo says of their oppression, in the year 783, and, in the year following, till the death of Sejanus. After whose death, that is, nearly a year, if not more than a year after, (for Sejanus was not put to death till October,) Tiberius convinced that the several things, of which Sejanus had, the year before, accused them, were without foundation, instantly enjoined all his manually appointed sub-ministers to comfort those in Gentile cities, and to reprimand or to punish those who were *culpable*, who, it seems, were, as Philo says, but few.—To make no alteration in their customs, but to respect them for the sake of their law.

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This, we take it, is very near the sum of what Philo says of the injury done the Jews of Rome and Italy, in the year 783, by Sejanus, and of what he says that minister intended to do the Jews every where, and, of course, believers as well as unbelievers—for the believing Jews were not then denominated Christians. The effects of which injury, he would have us to believe, Tiberius, about a year after, endeavored to alleviate, by enjoining all his præfects to treat those of the dispersion well, and to reprimand only the culpable, who, he confesses, were a few—that is, we suppose, in each of their districts. But amidst all of it, he, we perceive, says not a word of the cotemporary privation of Israel, of the power of putting any one to death, though the Talmud has been understood to assert it,* nor of demanding yearly the release of any state criminal.

Having now paid due attention to the several reports of Suetonius, Josephus, and Philo concerning this transaction, let us proceed to enquire how far they appear to agree or to disagree.

They appear to disagree in this—that Tiberius either expelled them himself, or, permitted them to be expelled—and, in this, that he expelled them in the year 783, the very year in which the Talmud of Jerusalem says Israel was deprived of the power of punishing with death.—In all other particulars they disagree not a little.

Suetonius, who, v. 25, calls Christians Jews, says, that Tiberius, of his own accord, expelled his best friends the Jews, and with them the Egyptians, from Rome, and from that city only; and this he, we, to our no little surprise, find, says, Tiberius did, at the very time when he cared nothing for the republic, nothing for religion, or the Gods,

* If those two remarkable events happened by the order of Tiberius, and in the same year, how is it that neither Philo or Josephus mentions the one, nor the Talmud the other?

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and had even quarrelled with Apollo and had attempted to destroy all his oracles near Rome, for exercising their profane rites. Suetonius also says, that he sent the jewish youths, and them only, into the unhealthy provinces, and, that he did it—*per speciem sacramenti*—that is, surely, not as soldiers, for all the other Jews, besides the 4,000, sent to Sardinia, refused, as Josephus, we shall presently find, says, to serve—but, as Suetonius again says, iii. 65, of the mission of Sejanus to Rome—*per speciem honoris*—under a colour of a, or the sacrament.* And, lastly, he, by saying that the rest of the same nation, (that is the jewish) and those of a like religious persuasion, were threatened with perpetual servitude if they did not obey, seems to intimate, that they were roman citizens, if not that they were never permitted to return.

Josephus, we find, says, that Tiberius expelled every thing jewish from Rome—and, that he did it, on the complaint of Saturninus against the jewish impostors, for applying to their own use his wife's costly oblations to the temple. He also asserts that the Egyptians were not then expelled. He further says that the consuls enlisted 4,000, and sent them to Sardinia—that the rest would not enlist, and that the consuls therefore punished them.

Philo, who says, that the conduct of Tiberius towards the Jews in general was, till the year 783, the very same as that of their great benefactor Augustus had ever been, and that the Jews were, for that reason, as much attached to him, as any people, if not more; says also, that Sejanus was, in that year, fabricating the imposition, and, that he, in order to carry it into effect, sought to injure the whole nation—that he accused those of Rome and Italy of certain things to their friend Tiberius, and thereby caused a commotion.—And, lastly,

* Tac. iv. 19, *Proprium id Tiberio fuit, scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis oblegere.*

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that Tiberius, being, not immediately, but several months after, (viz—on the death of Sejanus) convinced that the charges were false, enjoined all his manually ordained sub-ministers to comfort those that were in Gentile cities, and to reprimand, or, to punish only some few, in each of their several districts, who were culpable—and, to shew the same respect for their law as they had before shewn—but, of restoring to Israel the power of stoning blasphemers, &c. he, it should be observed, says not a word.

It is not a little remarkable that those three historians have attributed the expulsion of the Jews from Rome to three widely different causes, neither of which has the least claim to verisimilitude. Suetonius says, that they were expelled for practising superstitious rites.—Josephus says, that they were expelled because three or four worthless Israelites intercepted a religious lady's present to the temple at Jerusalem. Philo, who does not tell us in what the imposition, which set the Jews of Rome and Italy in commotion, and which, he says, they were so ready to resist, consisted, says, if he meant that they were expelled, that they were expelled because they were, more than any other set of men attached to Tiberius. And, it is not less remarkable, that not one of those writers appears to have noticed (unless Suetonius may be thought to have alluded to it by—*superstitione ea*—or, by—*per speciem sacramenti*—or, by—*familia sectantes*—and, Josephus, by *παν το Ιουδαϊκον*) the expulsion of Christians from Rome about the same time, though the two Senecas and Tacitus seem to have pretty plainly intimated it;—the elder Seneca, by speaking of the prevalence of the usage of that most wicked of all people, after it had been discontinued—and, of the sacraments of the Jews—and, the younger, by saying, that when the sacred rights of foreigners were discussed, the abstinence from certain sorts of food was reckoned as the chief evi-

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dence of superstition;—and Tacitus, by saying, that the execrable superstition, or most grievous pest, which crept in, was suppressed;—and, though several early Christians writers, among whom, we find, two of the second century, assert it—and, that they were expelled, after the year 782. Neither is it less remarkable than either of the two forementioned particulars, that not one of those three writers has noticed any attempt which those exiled Jews made to repel the unjust attempt to disturb their repose, and to evade such unheard of barbarity. Who can think that any people, who had been in alliance with another city nearly two centuries—who had been permitted to settle in the metropolis of that other for more than one—and who, while there, had been indulged with extraordinary favors and exemptions—and who had been admitted to the rights of citizenship, would, without the least remonstrance, have tamely consented to be expelled, and for no reason?—And who can think that any monarch would have consented to the expulsion of twenty or thirty thousand of his best subjects for any reason?—And, especially, without hearing what they had to offer in their own defence?—And who can think that that most eminently just and humane monarch Tiberius would have consented to the expulsion of any description of roman citizens, especially of his favorites the Jews, and for a reason so absurd as those assigned by the two roman writers, or so unjust and so irreconcilable with his just and sagacious character, as those assigned by the two jewish.

Before we take our leave of this enquiry let us endeavour to satisfy ourselves whether the Jews alone were set in commotion by the imposition of Sejanus—or, whether the Romans in general (of whom some, we find, by the report of V. Maximus, were extremely attached to Tiberius,) do not appear to have participated in the agitation.—That the Jews should alone have known what Sejanus intended to do, and have been alone disturbed by it, is not a little extraordinary.

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Suetonius, we have seen, relates the expulsion of the Jews and of others of the like religious modes of worship in the 36th chapter; the 37th he, we see, begins with *Imprimis*—an odd way of beginning a chapter it must be allowed, if the contents of it were not connected with those of the preceding. But what follows this *Imprimis*—scilicet—*tuendæ pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumque licentiâ, curam habuit.*—If now there was not any appearance of sedition, why does he say that Tiberius attended to them above any other concern?—And if there was, why should he have increased the number of malcontents by the expulsion of so large a body of his best friends, and without any cause?—or rather for a most unjust cause?—And why should he have sent his most loyal troops to the unhealthy climates, or to Sardinia?—Suetonius next proceeds to specify the dispositions which he made in order to preserve the public tranquillity—*Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit.*—And was not this enough to preserve peace?—Aye. But was he sure by so doing of preserving the peace of Rome?—*Romæ, says he, castra constituit, quibus Prætorianæ cohortes ante id tempus vagæ et per hospitia dispersæ, continerentur.*—And was it necessary to take so much precaution at Rome?—Which, as Paterculus, V. Maximus, and Dion say, abounded, in the 16th and 17th years, with his friends?—And after he had expelled one-third of the inhabitants?—Were the Romans too inclined to be seditious?—*Populares tumultus, he subjoins, exortos gravissime coercuit—and not only so—et ne orirentur sedulo cavit.*—And notwithstanding all this precaution, the populace of Pollentia, it seems, contrived to make a riot, and under a very licentious pretence. This, however, he quickly stopt by sending two cohorts, one from *the city* and one from a neighbouring kingdom on the Alps, and so contriving it that they should enter Pollentia at the same time at opposite gates. After having related all this under the head—*Imprimis*—and as

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having happened nearly about the same time—*id tempus*—he goes on to say—*Abolevit et jus moremque asylorum quæ usquam erant.* And what are we to understand by this, if not that the abolition of the asyla, was, some how or other, connected with those riots, if not with the expulsion of the Jews, and of the familia sectantes, and with the transportation of the jewish libertines to Sardinia?—Now the abolition of the asyla, we have seen, happened, after the death of our Lord, or, rather, in the year 783. Why then should we not suppose that those riots happened about the same time?

CHAPTER XVI.

The Senate, v. c. 783, expelled believers as Jews from Rome—and, Tiberius then protected them.

IN the chapter immediately preceding, we discovered that there is not the least reason to suspect Tiberius of having expelled his best friends the Jews from Rome—and, in that same chapter, we also perceived, that there is no little reason to suppose that by Jews, Josephus, Suetonius, and Tacitus meant believers and unbelievers, with their respective proselytes, or, Jews and Christians. Let us now proceed to enquire when the gospel was first preached at Rome—and, endeavour to discover why the Jews and Christians were expelled from that city—and why the libertines were treated worse than the other Jews—and why 4,000 of them were sent to Sardinia—and, also, by whom those two sects were expelled—whether they were expelled by the same power—and, lastly, why Philo says, that Tiberius, immediately after the death of Sejanus, sent to all his foreign manually ordained sub-ministers to check the culpable few Jews in their respective departments.

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Clemens of Rome, who, we find, was, by his own account, at Rome when our Lord was put to death*—and, who, we also find, and, by his own account too, was related to Tiberius,† says, in three of his works,‡ that the death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord were publicly announced at Rome a few weeks after the last mentioned event—that many (among whom, there, no doubt, were not a few jewish frequenters of the temple service, and among those a pretty large party of jewish libertines,) arrived in Italy, from Judea, soon after that event—and that they were all full of the news of the wonderful works, which, he, for several years, had been performing.—Clemens also says, that every body at Rome was occupied in nothing else but in hearing those reports, and in talking of what this new messenger from God had said and done—that every day fresh intelligence arrived—that frequent meetings were held, in every part of the city, to enquire about the design of his mission—that the vague rumours of what he had said and done were soon confirmed beyond a doubt,§ not only by the arrival of the Jews who dwelt at Rome (who, it seems, were mostly libertines) and their roman proselytes, but by that of *manifest* (that is, perhaps, state) messengers, who, probably, brought a full account of the matter from Pilate.—Clemens moreover says, that, before the summer was ended, a man named, not Peter, observe, but Barnabas,|| who had been one of the followers of this wonderful messenger from God, and who, we presume, was the vile outcast mentioned by the vilest of all vile wretches Flavius Josephus, standing in the most public place of the city—urbis loco celeberrimo—attested

* Recog. l. i. init.—Hom. l. i. init.—de G. P. init.

† R. vii. 8.—Hom. xii. 8.—de G. P. c. 46. ‡ R. H. de G. P.

§ R. i. 7. || Hom. i. 6.—de G. P. c. 6.

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the truth of the facts, of which they had heard so much from so many others, and, that he even appealed to the testimony of many among his hearers, who had heard and seen those things, which he himself attested, for the truth of them—and, that he offered, in the name of that messenger from heaven—*eternal life* to those who would become his followers.—Clemens next says, that he himself then became a convert to the preaching of Barnabas, and, with him, most of the multitude—*cum reliquâ multitudine*—and, that Barnabas was, by some of the hearers, derided and scoffed at, for what he had said, some of whom were even proceeding to commit acts of violence on his person, when Clemens, to save his instructor from their fury, desired him to take refuge in his own house—and, that Barnabas, unwillingly, accepted the offer.—Barnabas, adds Clemens, was so shocked at this outrageous attempt made on him, that he, before the autumn was ended, returned to Judea—*evidenter indicans, injuriæ se horrore percussus*.

Now why, as those things had been reported by so many witnesses, and even by messengers of the state, before Barnabas arrived at Rome, should so much opposition have been made to his testimony concerning them, unless he had announced the divinity of this messenger from God?—But by whom was the preaching of the gospel at Rome chiefly opposed?—Was it opposed by the idolatrous inhabitants—or, by the Jews?—If we may believe Tacitus, it must have been opposed either by Tiberius, or, by the Senate—for, of that execrable superstition, christianity, he says, that it was repressed—and, of the *gravissimum exitium*, he also says, that it was repressed. But would any of the idolatrous inhabitants have opposed any teacher of morality or science? Have we not reason to suppose, by considering what Luke says in the Acts, that the Jews—that is, not the Jews indiscriminately, but the libertines, or, those that had been made free of Rome, were the chief

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opposers of the faith?—He there informs us that the libertines had a synagogue of their own at Jerufalem—that they were the very men who, a few months after, disputed with Stephen. Now about what could they have disputed with him but about the dignity of our Lord? If it was not about that point, why should they have thought of seizing him, and taking him before the Sanhedrin?—And why should they have borne such testimony against him as caused him to be stoned as a blasphemer?

Let us next attend to the testimony which a Jew has adduced concerning the opposite conduct which Tiberius and the Senate followed on hearing of the resurrection of our Lord. The Jew, to whose record of it we mean to refer, is Moses, the Chorenensian, who, it seems, wrote the history of Armenia, in the language of that country—a writer very little known, and not thought worthy of notice, even by those who have the custody of his work,* though it has been translated into latin by William and George Whiston, the sons of the learned William Whiston, of Sidney Suffex College, Cambridge. The testimony which this writer has adduced is not his own—it is that of no less a person than Tiberius himself, who, he says, having received a letter from Abgarus,† the king of Edessa, concerning the most won-

* A copy of this curious work is said to be in the library of Ex. Coll. Oxf.

† In the letter of Abgarus to Tiberius the following sentence occurs—viz—*nomenque ejus omnibus locis etiamnum per discipulos ipsius miracula maxima perficit id quod in me demonstravit*—viz—by healing him.

Now when was Abgarus healed?—If we may believe Eusebius, Eccl. hist. i. last chapter, he was healed in the 340th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ—*ἐπ'αρχῇ ταῦτα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίῳ ἔτει*—which æra began at the autumnal æquinox, in the first year of the 117th olympiad; therefore the 340th year of it, or, 85 olympiads must have tallied with the first year of the 202d olympiad—or the beginning of the 340th year of the Edessenes, must have about three months after that of the 202d olympiad—or with the last half of v. c. 782.

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derful works of our Lord, the total darkness of the sun while our Lord was suspended on the cross, the earthquake that happened while he was in the grave, and his resurrection from the dead, and which letter that prince concluded with this remarkable sentence—"Jam itaque
 " novit majestas tua, quid de Judæorum populo imperandum sit, qui
 " hæc perpetrarunt, statuendumque per totum orbem *ut Christum co-*
 " *lant tanquam verum Deum.*" Vale.—returned the following answer:
 " Tiberius Romanorum Cæsar, Abgaro regi salutem.—Lecta fuit
 " coram me epistola amicitiae tuæ, ob quam gratia a nobis tibi habenda est, quanquam et a multis hoc ipsum prius audiveramus. Miracula ejus luculenter etiam exposuit Pilatus, eumque, postquam e
 " mortuis surrexit, a multis pro Deo fuisse habitum. Ac propterea,
 " volui ipse idem facere, quod tu cogitasti; sed cum Romanorum consuetudo sit, ut, Imperatoris modo auctoritate, neminem in Deorum
 " numero reponant, dum a Senatu tentatus fuerit probatusque, ideo
 " rem ad Senatum retuli; respuit autem Senatus,* quod ab ipso
 " primum quæstio de eo non fuerat habita. *Nos autem unicuique, qui*
 " *volet permisimus, ut Jesum in Deos recipiat, mortemque illis minati*
 " *sumus, qui Christianos criminari pergant.* De Judæorum autem
 " populo, qui eum temerè ausi sunt cruci suffigere, quem ego non
 " cruce, sed honore et veneratione dignum fuisse audio, ubi a bello

* This probably happened before the death of Livia, for then, it seems, he refused the apotheosis of her, ni cœlestis religio decerneretur—and therefore it must have happened either in the latter part of 781, or, in the beginning of 782.

If the Senate refused, in the year 781 or 782, to permit the worship of Christ—why did they, in the years 782, 783, 784, permit the worship of Sejanus?—For so Dion tells us, l. 58, p. 622, B., p. 626, B., they did: and, p. 625, B., that Sejanus used to sacrifice to himself?

In a subsequent letter of Abgarus he hints that it would be proper to recall Pilate, and he, we have seen, was recalled, and died on his voyage.

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“*cum Hispanis, qui a me defecere, otium nactus fuero, re exploratâ iis pro meritis retribuam.*”—Moses has subscribed the following memorandum—“Abgarus deposited a copy of this, and his own letters, in the archives of Edessa.”—*Hæc scripsit Abgarus, atque epistolæ ejus, ut et cæterarum, exemplum in Tabulario Edesseno reposuit.*

The testimony of Clemens, the Roman, then seems to agree pretty nearly with that of Tiberius himself, as related to us by Moses, the Chorenensian. But is their's the only evidence on this most interesting of all points which we can obtain?—Has not any early roman writer noticed this interference of Tiberius in behalf of Christians?—Tacitus, we know, says, that he, with excessive art, contrived to introduce the gravissimum exitium into some place, most likely into Rome, but then he seems to have said that he did it u. c. 768. But may not the elder Pliny have alluded to this affair in his Nat. hist.?—He, we find, there, xxx. i, tells us that the custom of offering up a human sacrifice was, in the year of Rome 657, by the Senate, interdicted, and, that *their* Druids were, in the reign of Tiberius, extirpated—and, moreover, that nobody can conceive how much praise the Romans deserved for extirpating those who could think it a very religious act to kill a man, and a very salubrious one to feed on his flesh. Now in order to have a proper notion of what he here means, let us attentively consider what is his drift in this chapter.

The title of it is, we find, this—*De origine magicæ artis, quando et a quibus cœperit, et a quibus celebrata fuerit—et reliquæ ex animalibus medicinæ.* In the course of that chapter Pliny says—*Est et alia magices factio, a Mose et Jamne et Jotape, Judæis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria 657, demum anno Romæ Cn. Corn. Lentulo, et P. Licinio Crasso, Coss. Senatus—consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palam-*

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que in tempus illud sacra prodigiosa celebrata. Gallias utique possedit, et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum, et hoc genus omne vatum medicorumque. Sed, continues he, quid ego hæc commemorem in arte?—Oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta. Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. Adeo ista toto mundo consensere, quanquam discordi sibi et ignoto. Non satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.

Pliny, we here find, takes it for granted that magic was some kind of art, and, that it was well understood what that art was, and also, seems to intimate, that it was, somehow, connected with animal medicine, and, lastly, that it well understood what that medicine was.—Of the origin of this art he proposes to treat and to shew when and by whom it had been, as he says, celebrated, and also, of the origin of the rest of animal medicine, &c.

After having mentioned the origin of this, as he calls it, art, he says, there *is* another magic, not art, observe, but faction, which, several thousand years after Zoroaster, depended on Moses, and Jamnes, and one or two other Jews. Now whom could he have meant by Jamnes?—Did not Paul tell Timothy, 2d ep. 3d c., that Jamnes withstood Moses, and, not unlikely, about some truth?—Besides—do we not read of Moses that he, in Egypt, contended with, and overcame, the magicians of that country?—How then can he be supposed to have supported any magic art or faction?—Does not Strabo tell us, xvi. p. 524, that the successors of Moses continued, for some time, to do what was right, and to worship the Deity in truth?—Does he not also say, immediately after, that, in process of time, some of his suc-

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cessors deviated from his institutes, and introduced superstitious tenets, such as the abstaining from certain sorts of animal food?—And does he not, in the same page, say, that the Magi of Persia and the tyrhenian Aruspices of the Romans were nearly of the same respectability as Moses?

That Zoroaster, the king of the Bactrians, was said to have been the inventor of the magic arts, is, we find, attested by Justin, i. 1, who there says, that Zoroaster invented (not the practice of immolating men, but) the magic arts, of which the principal, he seems to say, was the science of the principles of the world and the motions of the heavenly bodies.—*Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, et mundi principia, siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.*—Besides saying this, Justin also says, that the Jews derived the knowledge of the magic arts (not from Bactriana, but) from Egypt—and, not less, if we may believe the sacred writers, than three hundred years before the Jews, under the influence of Moses, left Egypt.—Justin moreover says, that the first Jew who learnt those arts in Egypt was, not Moses, but Joseph, who he, to our no little astonishment, affirms, was the *father of Moses*.—Of the skill of this Joseph, in both human and divine affairs, Justin then proceeds to give the following account—“For he was very sagacious in the meaning of prodigies, and the first that could explain the science of dreams: and there seemed to be nothing, either of divine or human jurisprudence, that was unknown to him: so that he foresaw, many years, any deficiency of crops: all Egypt would have perished by famine, if the king had not, by his recommendation, commanded the Egyptians to lay up stores for many years: and so great were the proofs which he gave of his wisdom, on all points, that they seemed to be

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the responses of a God rather than of a man."—A quibus deportatus (Josephus) in Ægyptum cum magicas ibi artes solerti ingenio percipisset, brevi, ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat, et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit, nihilque divini juris humanique ei incognitum videbatur; adeo, ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; periissetque omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges jussisset; tantaque experimenta ejus fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a Deo responsa dari viderentur.—Such is the account which Justin gives of Joseph, who, he says, was the first Jew that learned the magic arts, not in Persia, but in Egypt.—An account which satisfactorily proves that Joseph was greatly in favor with the Deity, and consequently that he could not have practised any superstitious rites, much less that of immolating human victims.—After having given us this account of what Joseph learnt in Egypt, and of the amazing good which he, by his foresight, did the Egyptians, he immediately proceeds to tell us how his son Moses was the heir of his father's pre-science—and that he was not only so, but that his person was remarkably graceful—Filius ejus Moses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hereditatem, etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat.—He next proceeds to say, that the Egyptians, by divine monition, expelled him because he was infected with a contagious disorder, and with him all those whom he had infected—that Moses contrived to steal their sacred rites—and, that therefore, the Egyptians instantly pursued him, till they were, by a tempest, that is, we presume, by the Deity, obliged to desist.—In the end of the same chapter, he furthermore tells us that the descendants of Moses (among whom he, in the first place, names Aaron) religiously avoided all intercourse with all neighbouring nations, and, with what incredible firmness they united by mixing justice with religion.

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This Justin says of the unfociable religion of the Jews, and therefore what reason have we to think that any nation learned the magic arts from them, and, especially the Cyprians?—And of one of the posterity of the Magi, in the original country, he says, xii. 13, that, as Alexander the Great was hastening to Babylon, he predicted that if he proceeded thither he would die there.—What reason then have we to think that the Magi had any rites that were offensive to the Gods? * Strabo, in several parts of his work, gives, we find, pretty nearly the same account of the Magi as Justin, and, book xvi, says, that they were as respectable a set of priests as any in the world, not excepting even Moses and his successors, of whom he speaks in the highest terms—of their manner of sacrificing, he, we find, gives an account, xv. p. 503, 504, an account the more to be relied on because, he says, that he himself was an eye-witness of their proceedings in Cappadocia, in which country, he says, that there was a very great multitude of them, and that Amasea, the place of his birth, was near it—but of their offering human victims, he says not a word.

Let us now endeavour to discover the period in which he appears to have written his xvi. book, for which purpose let us consult the xii. xiii. xiv.—in those only we hope to find data enough to point out the year very nearly.

In the xii. Strabo says, of Cyzicum—“and it is free till the present time”—και εστιν ελευθερα μεχρι νυν. p. 396.—And what can he have meant by adding—μεχρι νυν.—Was it not enough to have said—and it is free?

* Xenophon, we find, says of Cyrus, chap. viii.—Ουτω δη γινωσκειν, πρωτον μεν τα περι της θεης μᾶλλον επιδεικνυειν εαυτον εκπονῶντα εν τω τω χρονω, επειδι ευδαιμονεσερος ην. Και τοτε πρωτον κατασταθησαν οι μαγοι υμνειν τε αι αιμα τη ημερα της θεης, και θυειν αν εκασην ημεραν οis οι μαγοι θεοis ειποιεν. Ουτω δη τα τοτε κατασταθεντα ετι και νυν διαμενει παρα τω αι οιοντι, βασιλει. κ. τ. λ.

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Does he not seem to have intimated that it was expected that Cyzicum would shortly forfeit its freedom?—A little after, in the same book, he says, of Magnesia, Sardes, and other neighbouring cities that they had lately been destroyed by an earthquake—and, that Tiberius had, at his own expence, rebuilt them—Και γὰρ νῦν τὴν Μαγνησίαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ κατεβαλον σεισμοι, ἡνίκα καὶ Σαρδεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τὰς ἐπιφανέστας κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη διελυμνηατο, ἐπανωρθωσε δ' ὁ ἡγεμὼν χρήματα ἐπιδὼς. p. 398, 399.

In the xiii. he, we find, repeats what he had before said of Magnesia—Καὶ ταύτην ἐκακώσαν οἱ γενομένοι σεισμοι—p. 427.—And of the hæresy of Apollodorus he says, p. 430—εἰ τις ποτ' ἐστίν.—And, in the next p. 431, he says, of Asia, that it had been also destroyed by an earthquake, and rebuilt by the beneficence of Tiberius—νεώσι ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀπεβόλε πολλήν τῆς κατοικίας ἡ δὲ τῷ Τιβερίῳ προνοία τὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμονος, καὶ ταύτην (Asia) καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν συχνὰς ἀνελάβε τὰς εὐεργεσίαις—p. 431.—And again, towards the end of this book, he says, p. 443, of the district where the cities Antioch and Cybara the Great were situated, that it had suffered much by earthquakes—εὐσεισος δὲ καὶ ἕτος ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος.

In the xiv. book, he, p. 441, says, of the asylum at Ephesus—Ἀσυλον δὲ μένει τὸ ἱερόν καὶ νῦν καὶ προτερον, τῆς δὲ ἀσυλίας τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀλλαγῆναι συνεβη πολλάκις. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ πλησιάζαντος ἰστω, καὶ συμπεριλαβόντος τὴν ἀσυλίαν μέρος τὴ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφάνη δὲ τῷτο βλάβερων, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακουργοῖς ποιῆν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τ' ἠκυρώσεν ὁ Σεβαστος Καίσαρ.

Now as Strabo must be supposed to have written his xvi. book after the xii. xiii. and xiv.—and, in that book, has borne testimony to the respectability of the Magi, why should we not conclude from the date of some of the events mentioned in those preceding books as having then happened, and, as about to happen, that he bore this testimony of the Magi after the cities of Asia had been rebuilt, and just about the time when the asylæ were abolished, and the Cyziceniens were deprived of their liberty.

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But—how many cities were destroyed—and, were they all destroyed in the same year?

Tacitus tells us, Ann. ii. 47, that twelve of them were destroyed An. u. c. 770.* He also tells us, iv. 13, that Cybaritica was destroyed An. u. c. 776. In the intermediate time one other was, as we are informed by Eusebius, Nicephorus, and others, destroyed by the same cause. Now how long can we suppose those twelve cities were building?—It took Herod, we find, by Josephus, at least ten years to rebuild Cæsarea?—Can we then think that those twelve cities were built in a period less than that?—Would the revenues of Tiberius have enabled him to rebuild those twelve cities only in a less period?†—However when Strabo wrote his xii. and xiii. books they had been re-built—and, how long we know not.—Let us hear what ancient inscriptions say of the year when those twelve cities are supposed to have been completed.

The basis of a column erected at Rome, by the people of Asia, to the memory of Tiberius, on, as 'tis thought, this occasion, is said to be still extant, on which is the following inscription:—

TI. CÆSARI
DIVI. AUGUSTI. F. DIVI. JULII. N.
AUGUSTO. PONTIF. MAXIMO.
CONS. IV. IMP. VIII. TRIB. POTESTAT. XXXII.
AUGUSTALES RESPUBLICA RESTITUIT.

* Other chronologists say, that this earthquake happened a year or two later.—A greek chronologist says that it happened in the 2d year of the 199th olympiad.

† Phlegon says, that Apollonius, the grammarian, spoke of this earthquake; of the re-building of the cities he says—*ας υσερον ο Τιβεριοσ οικεια δαπανη παλιν ανωρθωσεν.*

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Now Tiberius was a fourth time consul in the year of Rome 774, consequently he could not have re-built those twelve cities before that year. But, considering what Josephus says of the number of years which the re-building of Cæsarea alone took, and of the vast expence which it cost, those twelve cities cannot well be supposed to have been completed in less than ten years, and if, while those were re-building, Cybaritica was demolished, we may well suppose that its inhabitants also contributed to the expence of the erection of this column. But in what year of Rome did the 32d of his tribunitial power happen?—If he, as we have supposed, chapter ii, was first invested with that power in the year 748, and was in possession of it ever after,* he must, in the year 780, have been possessed of that authority 32 years.

To this it may be objected, that if Strabo meant to say that those cities were re-built about the year in which the people of Cyzicum lost their freedom—and if, as Tacitus tells us, Ann. iv. 36, the Cyziceni-ans were deprived of their liberty in 778, Tiberius could not, as Suetonius affirms, have enjoyed the tribunitial authority, without intermission, since 748. Who then has been inaccurate in this matter? Has Strabo, who appears to say that the cities were re-built before the Cyziceni-ans were deprived of their liberty?—Or, Tacitus, who, says that the Cyziceni-ans were punished with the loss of liberty in the year 778?—We cannot suppose that Strabo has made a mistake in this matter, because those events must have happened before he died.—Has then Tacitus antedated the disgrace of the Cyziceni-ans more than a year?—We know that in several instances he has not been so attentive to chronological points† as he ought to have been—and, we also

* Suetonius, iii 11, seems to say that he was not.

† E. G. He has antedated the time when Tiberius introduced the gravissimum exitium.—When the Senate expelled the Jews from Rome.—He says that the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ fell before Tiberius retired to Capræ.

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know that he says, iv. 13, that there was a decree passed, at the recommendation of Tiberius, in the year 776, to assist the inhabitants of Cybaritica, in Asia, and those of Ægira, in Achaia, when their cities were destroyed by earthquakes.—But let us consult Suetonius on this point.

Suetonius says, iii. 37—*Abolevit et jus, moremque asylorum quæ usquam erant.*—This we have shewn is not likely to have happened till after the death of our Lord, nor before the year 783.—And in the next sentence, he says—*Cyzicenis in cives Romanos, violentius quædam ausis, publice libertatem ademit.*—Suetonius then, we find, places the privation of the Cyzicenians, immediately after the abolition of the asyla.

In the next place, Pliny says, that there is a Cyprian branch of this magic faction, and seems to intimate, by using the present tense of the verb substantive, that it was existing in his days.—And who ever heard of the Cyprian branch of the Mosaic magic faction?—Strabo, we know, who gives us an account of Cyprus, says not a word of it.—After mentioning those two branches of the magic faction, he then proceeds, immediately, to inform us that the practice of immolating a man was continued till the year 657, and that it was then, by the Romans prohibited—(which, by the bye, seems to imply that he thought the Magi, Jewish and Cyprian, used to immolate men) that is, surely, in those countries then become subject to Rome, and therefore neither in Judea nor in Cyprus.—He next takes a rapid flight to Gaul, which country, he seems to say, the magic faction still possessed, that is, in his own time.—He, lastly, pretends to assign a reason why it was not continued later—*Namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum*, and not only *their* Druids, but—*et hoc genus vatum medicorumque*—where, by, *Druidas eorum*, he could not have

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meant the Druids of the Gauls, because he had not before spoken of the Gauls, but only of their country—*Gallias utique possidet*—and therefore he must have meant the Druids of those on whom the other magic faction, afterwards denominated the Cyprian, depended—scil—of Moses, &c.—But how could Moses be said to have had any thing at all to do with people who sacrificed a man, unless by being the author of that religion which Christ came to establish?—And how could the Magi be said to have been extirpated by Tiberius, when, we are informed by Tacitus, vi. 29, it was objected to Scaurus u. c. 787, that he had attended their rites?

After having told us that the custom of immolating a man was abolished, and having, seemingly, intimated that this was a druidical practice, he proceeds to say that this art, as he calls it, after all, found means to cross the sea, and that, when he wrote, it still existed in Britain, and with as much fervor as if it had originated in that island.—He concludes the whole with this remarkable encomium on the humanity of the person or persons who put an entire stop to the practice of not only immolating a human victim, but of eating his flesh, out of conceit that it was most salubrious—nobody can conceive how much praise the Romans deserved for having extirpated the monsters who thought it a most religious act to kill a man, and a most salubrious one to eat his flesh.

And did the magic faction prevail in Britain after the practice of sacrificing *men* had been interdicted, and after the Druids had, in the reign of Tiberius, been removed?—Even till Pliny wrote?—And did the Senate, in his days, remove, not only the practice of offering human victims, but even the monsters, who thought it an act of the greatest piety to offer such prodigious sacrifices, and the most salubrious to feed on the flesh of those victims?—And did they, by so

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doing, merit the greatest praise?—If they merited so much praise for it, did not Tiberius deserve, at least, a part of it?—If not almost all of it? Could the Senate have, without either his command or consent, presumed to interdict the practice?—What had they to do with the religions of other countries, especially with that of Gaul or Britain?—Is it not much more likely that Tiberius himself put an end to this most inhuman practice, at least in Gaul and Britain?—And if he did, was not all the praise, inconceivable as it was, due to him?—How is it that no writer has noticed either his humanity on this most extraordinary occasion, or the praise which Pliny says he deserved for it, or any of the consequences that may be supposed to have followed the prohibition of so inveterate, so universal, so inhuman a superstition? And how is it that two or three later writers say that he, who extirpated the race of cannibals all over the empire, was himself afterwards the greatest of all cannibals?—And that he, who cared nothing for the Gods or religion, and was himself so remarkably impious, and a fatalist, was so much concerned about the superstition of the Druids?

And how did the people who followed this superstitious mode of worship behave on this occasion?—especially they of Gaul?—where, as Cæsar says in his commentaries of the Gallic war, the chief part of the nobles of that country were Druids.—Did they too, like the Jews, submit quietly to the suppression of their superstitious practice?—And after they had been permitted, by both of the two former Cæsars, Julius and Augustus, to exercise it, for so many years, without the least restriction?—If, as Julius himself says, vi. p. 224, one-half of the leading men of Gaul were Druids, and the Druids, as he also says, regulated all the principal concerns of the religion, and learning, and polity of that country, would they too submit, and without the least opposition, to any innovation in the rites of their religion?—Were they, in the reign

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of Tiberius, known to have resisted the Romans, before or after the year 774?—And what does Tacitus say was the cause of that rebellion? Does he say that it was excited by any attempt of Tiberius to hinder them from immolating men?—Does he not say, iii. 40, that the Gauls were then, by the exaction of heavy taxes, irritated to rebel?—Does he not say that they complained of the magnitude of their debts, and of the *cruelty* and the pride of their rulers?—And does he not say that Sacrovir then endeavoured to persuade them that the opportunity of recovering their lost liberty was at last arrived?—Eodem anno (774, T. 7, 8,) Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem æris alieni rebellionem cœptavere: cujus exstimulator acerrimus inter Treviros Julius Florus, apud Æduos Julius Sacrovir. Igitur per conciliabula et cœtus seditiosa differebant, de continuatione tributorum, gravitate fœnoris, *ſævitiâ* ac *superbiâ* præſidentium egregium reſumendæ libertati tempus, &c.—This Tacitus says was the cause of the Gallic insurrection in the year 774, which, he seems to say, c. 47, was no sooner begun than ended.

The following year—viz—775 was, says Tacitus, iii. 52, undisturbed by external foes—Inturbidus externis rebus annus. Consequently why should we not suppose that the Senate did not make this alteration in the superstitious rites of the Gallic Druids till after that year?

This peaceable state of affairs seems, by the account of the same writer, to have continued till the year 777—for, in that year, he complains that he had nothing of importance to write about—that the public peace was undisturbed, or, at most, but slightly ruffled—Im-mota quippe aut inodice laceſſita pax.

Paterculus, we also find, confirms what Tacitus says of the disturbances in Gaul, in the year 774, under Sacrovir, and of the continuance of peace till 777. And he not only says, with Tacitus, that

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every thing remained in a tranquil state till that year, but he even seems to intimate that the same state of tranquility remained till the year 783.—For after having remarked with what celerity the Gallic war was ended, he, in the year 783, exults in the reflection that peace had then taken possession of every part of the world.

There is not then the least reason to think that the Druids of Gaul were at all discomposed at the questionable decree. Indeed, if we attend to what Strabo and Suetonius say of them, we shall be inclined to think that they were, before the reign of Tiberius, in part, if not altogether, induced to discontinue this horrid practice, but whether, by their long intercourse with the Romans, as Strabo seems to say, or, by the edict of Augustus, as Suetonius says, we need not endeavour to ascertain.—Strabo says, iv. p. 136, that the Romans, by their intercourse with the Gauls, induced them to relinquish *such modes of sacrificing as were contrary to those which they themselves followed*—και τε των δ' επαυσαν αυτες Ρωμῆιοι, και των κατα θυσιας και μαντειας υπεναντιως τοις παρ ημῖν νομιμοις.—And, in the sequel, he proceeds to point out what those rites peculiar to the Gauls were—for, says he, they used to sacrifice a man, and to divine from the palpitations of the victim—ανθρωπον γαρ κατεσπεισμενον παισαντες εις νωτον μαχαιρα, εμαντευοντο εκ τε σφαδασιμῃ, εθουον δε εκ ανευ δρυιδων και κ. τ. λ.—Now if the Gauls were, by their long intercourse with the Romans, in a manner humanized, early in the reign of Tiberius, if not before, why should we not presume, on the authority of the same writer, immediately preceding, that almost all the inhabitants of Britain were also, as early, humanized?—For, of that island, he says—“ Now indeed some of the princes of that island, by
“ embassies and submissions, seek the favor of Cæsar, and make costly
“ presents to the Capitol, and have rendered almost the whole island

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“dependent on the Romans so that they need not maintain
 “any great force there.”—Νυνι μεντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινες των αυτοθι πρεσβευσεις
 και θεραπειαῖς κατασκευασμενοι την προς Καισαρα τον Σεβασον φιλιαν, αταθηματα τε
 ανεθηκαν εν τῳ Καπιτωλιῳ, και οικειαν σχεδον παρεσκευασαν τοῖς Ρωμαιοις ολην την
 νησον ὡσε μηδεν δεῖν φρεῖρας της νησου.

By the evidence of Strabo and Suetonius, as well as by the preceding of Tacitus and Paterculus, it appears to be far from clear that this decree was passed in the reign of Tiberius.

Let us then, in order to obtain more satisfaction on this point, proceed to enquire in what year of Tiberius this most remarkable decree could have been passed.—And in order to do it the more effectually let us make the enquiry first on the supposition that the Senate alone, without the concurrence of Tiberius, did it—and, secondly, on the supposition that Tiberius ordered it to be passed or consented to the passing of it.

If Pliny meant that the Senate, of their own accord, put a stop to this barbarous practice, he must have meant that they did it after Strabo wrote, for, at that time, it seems, by what he says, iii. p. 106, the Lusitanians continued, as usual, to immolate men. Now Strabo wrote, as it is supposed, about the year 772—when, as Tacitus says, (though, as we have proved, erroneously) the Senate expelled the Jews and Egyptians from Rome and Italy for exercising their profane rites. At which time, we may suppose, this barbarous practice had not been prohibited. Did they then do it in the year 775?—In that year, says Tacitus, iii. 60, Tiberius conceded to them the privilege of hearing the postulates or complaints of the provinces, and they, immediately, made it their business to enquire into the abuses of the asyla, and to inspect the modes of religion followed by their allies, but that they then scrutinized any of the rites of the Druids, or interdicted the prac-

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tice of offering human sacrifices, he does not say.—Besides, Tacitus says, iii. 65, that, in the same year, the Senate was all submission to the will of Tiberius—*Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione fordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenta erat; sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui præturâ functi multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exfurgerent, fœdaque et nimia censerent.*—Again, if the Senate put an end to this inhuman practice, before the year 777, why did Tacitus complain, iv. 32, that he had nothing of importance to write about?—Especially if, as Pliny says, nobody can conceive how much credit the Romans deserved for doing it, why should Tacitus have thought it not worth the recording?—Was the suppression of so prodigious, so horrid a superstition, so generally received and so long practised, of less importance than the prohibition of immediate executions, or of the innocent superstition practised by the Jews and Egyptians, or than that of the abuse of the Grecian asylas?—Lastly, was it done before the year 783?—In that year Paterculus, we know, finished his history, and concluded it with an eulogium on Tiberius and Sejanus, but though he says what has been by the conductors of one of our principal seminaries for classic education pronounced adulatory, yet he, we find, says nothing of this most humane decree. In short, if the Senate did not do it when the sacred rites of other nations were, as Seneca says, discussed, we know not when they did it, or, if they did it not when the execrable superstition was repressed, we cannot conceive when they did it. And yet we cannot think that it was done at either of those times—for, at the former time, says Seneca, epist. 108, abstinence from certain sorts of animal (observe, but not human) food was considered as the chief argument of superstition—and, at the latter, the superstition blazed forth again and overcame every thing.

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Let us now proceed to enquire when this decree could have been passed, on the supposition that Tiberius himself ordered it to be passed or consented to the passing of it.

If it was passed by his order or consent, it seems to have been passed before the disagreement between him and the Senate took place, about which time, says Tacitus, v. 3, his domination began to be excessive and arbitrary*—that is, before he became so very cruel, and so very careless about the worship of the Gods, and the interests of the state, and before he went to Capreæ to conceal his cruelty—and before he began the practice of issuing edicts, to the destruction of innocent persons—and before he began to be cruel, or, to make others the agents of his cruelty—that is, before he employed Sejanus as his prime minister, or before the year 776—or, lastly, (if as Tacitus seems to say, i. 72, 73, he, in the year 768, introduced the gravissimum exitium into Rome, and, in that year, was, by anonymous authors, saty- rized for his cruelty,) it may be, even before that year—or, before Strabo wrote.

We have now been as attentive to this subject as can be expected, and we cannot find the least encouragement to think that this decree was passed in the reign of Tiberius—we also cannot perceive that any other author was aware of it, and we, on the contrary, observe that even V. Maximus, who wrote on religious and moral subjects only, and dedicated his work to Tiberius, says nothing of this decree—and this is the more observable as he proposes, v. 1, in the first place, to relate the most humane and the most clement acts of the Senate—*Ante omnia autem humanissima et clementissima senatus acta referam* and as he, in ix. 2, (which chapter is on cruelty) says nothing of this barbarous practice, though he concludes it with this most remarkable

* *Cæterum ex eo prærupta jam et urgens dominatio.*

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sentence—Sicut illi Barbari, quos ferunt maētatarum pecudum intestinis, et visceribus egestis, homines inferere, ita ut capitibus tantummodo emineant, atque ut diutius poenæ sufficiant, cibo et potione infelicem spiritum prorogare: donec intus putrefacti, laniati sint animalibus, quæ tabidis corporibus innasci solent. Queramus nunc cum natura rerum, quod nos multis et asperis adversæ valetudinis incommodis obnoxios esse voluerit habitumque cœlestis roboris humanæ conditioni denegatum moleste feramus, cum tot cruciatus sibimet ipsa mortalitas impulsu crudelitatis excogitaverit.

Now as we find that Maximus, on the one hand, professes to relate, in the first place, all the most humane decrees of the Senate, and yet takes not the least notice of this, the most humane of all others—and, as we also find, that he, on the other hand, has, in the chapter in which he treats of cruelty, omitted to notice the practice of immolating men, those two discoveries may, with the help of the foregoing discoveries, help to convince us that the practice of offering human sacrifices is not likely to have been continued in the days of Tiberius.

But Pliny, it seems, would not only have us to believe that it was, in the reign of Tiberius, a common practice to offer such sacrifices—but, if we understand him rightly, he would also have us to believe that it was as common a practice, at the same time, to feed on the flesh of such victims. The existence of which practice, in the reign of Tiberius, is, we find, also denied by Strabo, for he tells us, iv. p. 139—
 “Of the people of Ireland I have nothing certain to say, but that they
 “are more uncivilized than the Britains, being both cannibals and
 “gluttons.—This, I find, is said of them, but by no credible witnesses.”

Περὶ ἧς (ΙΕΡΝΗ) ἔδεν ἔχομεν λεγεῖν σαφές, πλὴν ὅτι, ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπαρχοσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε οὐτες καὶ πολυφάγοι κ. τ. λ.—
 Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἔτι λεγόμεν ὡς ἔκ ἔχοντες ἀξιοπίστους μαρτυρίας.

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Now as Pliny appears to have given so questionable an account of the magic faction, and to have asserted, of both, that they were abolished, in the reign of Tiberius, as having been obnoxious to the Senate by following the barbarous practice of offering up human victims and feasting on the flesh of those victims.—And, as we find, by the evidence of several historians, (two or three of whom were cotemporaries with Pliny) that his assertion was not true—why should we not suspect that it is very likely that he may have had some covert meaning—especially as, we find, mention made in several authors of the early discontinuance of this horrid practice.—Suetonius, we find, who takes not the least notice of the praise which Pliny says the Romans, in the reign of Tiberius, acquired for having abolished it, asserts, in his life of Claudius, v. 25, that the Roman citizens were prohibited by *Augustus* from following the rites of the Druids, and that Claudius entirely abolished that superstition—*Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolivit.*—This testimony of Suetonius is, we find, supported by that of Pomponius Mela, who says, that though the practice had then been abolished, yet the vestiges still remained, excepting that they abstained from offering up human victims.—*Apud Anthropophagos ipsæ etiam epulæ visceribus humanis apparantur.* Pomponius Mela, l. ii. c. 1, p. 27.—*Manent vestigia feritatis jam abolitæ, atque ut ab ultimis cædibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos admovêre, delibant.*—*Habent tamen et facundiam suam, magistrosque sapientiæ Druidas,* l. ii. 2, p. 49.—And the evidence of Petronius Arbiter, in the end of his *Satyricon*, will, if attended to, be found to be pretty nearly of the same tendency.—He there humorously represents *Eumolpus* as proposing, at his death, to leave the inhabitants of *Croton* a legacy, on condition that they should cut his body in pieces and eat it in public—and, as observing, by way of lulling any qualms

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of conscience they might have at the idea, that, in some countries, it was still a practice (not, observe, to immolate a man and to feast on his remains, but) for the friends of a deceased person to devour him—and, as instancing, not the Druids of any country, but the people of Saguntum, when besieged by Hannibal, and those of Petavium, and the mothers of Numantia, when taken by Scipio—a plain proof that he could not adduce any recent instance of the practice.—The people of Croton, continues Petronius, perceiving that Eumolpus only meant to laugh at them, shortly after sacrificed him—and how does he say they did it?—scil—as the people of Marseilles used to do formerly. And how was that?—It was, it seems, as little understood by the people of Croton, in those early days, as by any of us, for he immediately proceeds to explain it—they fed him a year at the public expence, and then led him through the town, attired like any other victim, and then loading him with curses, præcipated him from a rock.—Another plain proof that the practice of immolating men was very little known when Petronius wrote—that is, not improbably, in the days of Tiberius.

That Petronius Arbiter wrote his *Satyricon* in the reign of Tiberius appears from his often calling the then emperor Agamemnon, by which name Tiberius was, as Dion says, l. 59, p. 654, D., called by Antonia—and, that he wrote after the year 775, appears from the story which he relates of the miraculous mender of broken glass, for Dion, who has also related the same story, l. 57, p. 613, E., places the performance of that wonder in the year 775—that he wrote after the consulship of the twins—that is, after the year 782, appears from that epic poem which, he says, Eumolpus made on the civil war, for, in that poem, he says—

Quid tam parva queror: Gemino cum consule, Magnus Ille, &c.

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Soon after Eumolpus had written this pigmy poem* he entered Croton, where he, a few days after, made his will, in which he gave the people of that city all his effects, on condition that they would eat his flesh.

But though Petronius seems to deny that it was in the reign of Tiberius the practice of the Romans to eat human flesh, yet he, we find, represents Eumolpus as speaking, in the same poem, of the applause which a person who drank human blood received from the Romans.

Ut bibat humanum, populo plaudente, cruorem.

But what could Eumolpus have meant by this poem and the several circumstances which he introduces in the course of it?—On what occasion was it written?

He, we find, prefaces it with this remark—that whoever undertakes to write a poem, *on the great subject of the civil war*, must, unless he was possessed of much literature, necessarily sink under the burden. For, subjoins he, the occurrences of it had better be recorded by an historian than by a poet. But, continues he, a free spirit is to be præcipitated through intricate windings, and the ministrætion of the Gods, and a fabulous torture of sentences, so that it may rather appear the prediction (vaticination) of phrensy, than the faith of a religious oration attested by witnesses.

Ecce, belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus litteris, sub onere labetur. Non enim res gestæ versibus comprehendendæ sunt quod longé melius Historici faciunt; sed per ambages, Deorumque ministeria, et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum præcipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio appareat, quam religiosæ orationis sub testibus fides; tanquam si placet his impetus, etiamsi non recepit ultimam manum.

* It consists of no more than 296 lines.

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But what are some of the principal features of this poem?—Let us make it our business to enquire.

He, we perceive, begins it with observing that Rome had arrived at the summit of glory, power, and luxury, and, presently after, he tells us, that she was, not long after, depressed to the lowest state of misery, so that no efforts of sound reason could make her endeavour to raise herself.

Hoc merſam cœno Romam, ſomnoque jacentem

Quæ poterant artes ſanâ ratione movere.

But when, in the days of Petronius, could Rome be ſaid to be ſo ſunk?—and to be ſo aſleep?

He next introduces Diſ or Pluto as complaining to Forſ or Fortune that his infernal ſubjects had been commanded to expect heaven—

Inferni manes cœlum ſperare jubentur.

He then introduces Fortune as declaring that ſhe had done every thing for Rome, and, that the ſame Deity who had, at firſt, raiſed her up, would now deſtroy her:

_____ deſtruet iſtas

Idem, qui poſuit, moles Deus, et mihi cordi.

She then, immediately after, aſſigns the reaſon for it:

Quippe cremare viros, et ſanguine paſcere luxum.

She then foretells what wars were ſhortly about to take place. She next proceeds to adviſe Pluto to throw open his parched domains, and to receive freſh ſouls, and, not only ſo, but to get, inſtead of a boat, a fleet to transport them.

_____ Vix navita Porthmeus,

Sufficiet ſimulachra virum traducere cymba

Claffe opus eſt.

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Lastly, she adds, that the whole world is about to be sent across the Styx by those proceedings.

Scarce, says the poet, was the conference between those two imaginary Dieties ended, when all the other Gods, of the same class, bore testimony to the truth of it.

Continuo clades hominum venturaque damna
Auspiciis patuere Deum; namque ore cruento
Deformes Titan vultus caligine texit.
Civiles acies jam tum spirare putares.

Having spoken of the most flourishing state of Rome and her subsequent downfall, and given this terrific account of the conference between Fortune and Pluto, and observed that their determination was assented to by the rest of the Gods, he, in the end of the first half of his poem, presents us with three or four most unexpected and seemingly most unconnected images—for first, he says, that a torch, accompanied by new stars, was the leader of this conflagration.

Fax stellis comitata novis incendia ducit.

And then he says that Jupiter descended suddenly in a shower, not of gold, as formerly, but of blood.

Sanguineoque repens descendit Jupiter imbre.

Next he says, that some anonymous God, in a short time, unfolded those tokens.

Hæc ostenta brevi solvit Deus. —————

And, lastly, he, most abruptly, introduces Cæsar as, without delay, and actuated by a love of vengeance, throwing away the Gallic arms, and, strange to say, as taking up *civil arms*.

————— Exuit omnes
Quippe moras Cæsar, vindictæque actus amore
Gallica projecit, civilia fustulit arma.

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Now of what Cæsar does he here speak, and what can he have meant by saying that he took up *civil arms*, and, at the time when he cast away the Gallic?—Of whom, but Tiberius, can he be supposed to have spoken?—And if he did mean him what civil war happened in his reign but that on account of the introduction of Christianity into Rome?

And where does he say Cæsar made use of those civil arms?—scil—on that part of the Alps from whence he could obtain a prospect of Spain?

Hæc ubi calcavit Cæsar juga milite læto*
Optavitque locum, fummo de vertice montis
Hesperia† campos late prospexit.

On this exalted station Cæsar poured forth a complaint to Jupiter, &c. that he had been *driven from his city*.‡ But why, if the subject of this poem be the civil war, and Cæsar was driven from his city, can he be supposed to have taken his station on that part of the Alps which overlooks Spain?—But at what time of the year did Cæsar take this exalted station?—scil—In the depth of winter. And when does he appear to have quitted it?—scil—After the thaw commenced.

Sed postquam turmæ nimbos fregere ligatos,
Et pavidus quadrupes undarum vincula rupit,
Incaluere nives, mox flumina montibus altis
Undabant modo nata; sed hæc quoque jussâ putares.

* Quantâ cum quiete hominum, rem perpetui præcipuique timores, supplementum, sine trepidatione delectus providet?—Paterc. ii. 130.

† Ubi a bello cum *Hispanis*, qui a me defecere, otium nactus fuero, &c. Tib. ad Abg.

‡ He afterwards says, p. 130, that Cæsar fled from Rome.

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And whither did Cæsar move next?—Towards Spain?—Or, did he content himself with only taking a peep at it?—He does not say.—This only he says—that Cæsar, before the frost had entirely disappeared, descended into some more tillageable country.

Nondum Cæsar erat: sed magnam nixus in hastam
Horrida securis frangebatur gressibus arva,
Qualis, &c.

And what, does he say, followed?—scil.—As soon as it was known that he had descended, Fame flew quickly to astonished Rome.

Dum Cæsar tumidas iratus deprimit arces
Interea volucer, motis conterrita pennis
Fama volat, summique petit juga celsa Palati:
Atque hæc Romano attonite fert omnia signa:

But why should the people of Rome be said to have been astonished at his descent from the Alps?—What step did they take in consequence of their astonishment?

Arma, cruor, cædes, incendia, totaque bella
Ante oculos volitant: ergo pulsata tumultu
Pectora per dubias scinduntur territa causas.
Huic fuga per terras, illi magis unda probatur
Et patriâ est pontus jam tutior: est magis arma
Qui tentata velit: fatisque jubentibus actus,
Quantum quisque timet, tantum fugit. Ocior ipse,
Hos inter motus populus, miserabile visu!
Quo mens icta jubet, desertâ ducitur urbe.
Gaudet Roma fugâ, debellatque Quirites
Rumoris sonitu mærentia tecta relinquunt.
Ille manu trepidâ natos tenet: ille Penates
Occultat gremio, deploratumque relinquit
Limen, et absentem votis interficit hostem.

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Having thus described this general dereliction of Rome, because report had said that Cæsar had descended from the Alps, he, a few lines after proceeds thus—

Quid tam parva queror? *Gemino cum Consule* Magnus
 Ille tremor Ponti, sævi quoque terror Hydaspis,
 Et piratarum scopulus: modo quem ter ovantem
 Jupiter horruerat, quem fracto gurgite Pontus,
 Et veneratus erat submissa Bosphorus undâ,
 Proh Pudor! *Imperii deserto nomine* fugit,
 Ignavâque fugâ *Romam famamque* relinquit,
 Ut fortuna levis! Magni quoque terga videres.

And can he have meant to affirm this of the same Cæsar, who had, in the depth of winter, ascended the Alps, and thence taken a peep at Spain?—And whose reported descent had caused such a panic at Rome, and so total a desertion of that city?—If he does, what can he have meant by the lines immediately following?—viz—

Ergo tanta lues Divum quoque numina vidit;
 Consensitque fugæ cœli timor. Ecce per orbem
Mitis turba Deum, terras exosa furentes
 Deferit, atque hominum damnatum avertitur agmen.

And what by those again immediately following—

Pax prima ante alias, niveos pulsata lacertos
 Abscondit olea vinctum caput, atque relicto
 Orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum.
Huic comes it submissa Fides et crine soluto
Justitia, ac mærens lacerâ Concordia pallâ.

And, to crown the whole, he, a few lines after, says, that there was as much dissension among the Gods as among the Romans.

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Sentit terra Deos, mutataque sidera pondus
Quæfivere suum: namque omnis Regia cœli
In partes diducta ruit.

The evidence of those three writers then seems to prove that the practice of immolating human victims seems to have been discontinued, by Roman citizens, in the reign of Augustus, and every where else, soon after, if not early in the reign of Tiberius.

Now what should hinder us from suspecting that the suppression of those druidical rites, here mentioned by Pliny, may have been no other than the repression of the execrable superstition of Christians mentioned by Tacitus?—Or the expulsion of the *similia sectantes*, mentioned by Suetonius?—Or of the *παν το Ισδαϊκον*, mentioned by Josephus?—And that it may have been voted when the sacred rites of other nations were, as Seneca says, discussed?—And that it may have been, as he also says, enforced by the rage of accusers?—Has not Pliny himself, by observing that a sort of physicians were expelled with them, afforded us something like a further reason for cherishing this suspicion?—What could he have meant by saying that a sort of physicians were expelled with them?—Were the Druids too physicians?—Were not the elders of the church a sort of physicians—at least, were they not required to pray for the sick?—What else could he have meant by the latter part of the title prefixed to this chapter—*de origine reliquæ ex animalibus medicinæ*.

The Christians then seem, by the evidence of Pliny, to have been expelled from Rome, by the Senate, and for what offence, unless it was for feasting on the body and blood of Christ, as conducive to eternal life—and, for praying for the sick members of the church?—Are we not informed by several of the first champions for christianity that the early Christians labored under the imputation of being cannibals?

The Senate, v. c. 783, expelled believers as Jews, &c.

Besides the testimony of Athenagoras, on this point, already adduced, that of Justyn Martyr, both before a roman emperor and an ephesian Jew, and that of Theophilus, the patriarch of Antioch, which he produced against the calumniators of Christians, might be appealed to.—

The former asked the roman Senate—*τις γαρ φιληδονος η ακρατης και ανθρωπινων σαρκων βοραν αγαθον ηγουμεος δυναιτο αν θανατον ασπαζεσθαι, οπως των ουτε αγαθων σερηθη;*—and of Trypho he, in the first place, demanded whether he really believed that the Christians feasted on human flesh—*τις το δε εστιν ο λεγω, μη και υμεις πεπιστευκατε περι ημων, οτι δη εσθιομεν ανθρωπων, και μετα την ειλαπινην αποσβεννεοντες της λυχνης, αθεσμοις μιξεσιν εχχυλιομεθα;**—and the latter says, l. iii, of the Syrian adversaries of christianity, that they entertained the same ridiculous notion—*φασκοντων ως κοινας απαντων υσας τας γυναϊκας ημων, και διαφορω μιξει ζυνοντας, ετι μεν και ταις ιδιαις αδελφαις συμμιγνυσθαι, και το αθεωτατον και ωμοτατον, πασων σαρκων ανθρωπινων εφαπτεσθαι ημας.*

Having now discovered, by the evidence of an Apostolic Christian writer, that great opposition appears to have been made to the first preaching of the gospel at Rome soon after the ascension of our Lord, both by jewish libertines and by prejudiced heathens—and by that of Tiberius, that the Senate refused to admit the worship of our Lord, and, that he threatened death to the accusers of Christians—and, by that of a cotemporary roman writer, that the Christians of Rome appear to have been expelled from that city in the reign of Tiberius, and for worshipping Christ.—Let us next proceed to enquire what other early Christian writers have said of their expulsion by the Senate, and of their protection by Tiberius.

* See Minutius Felix in Octavio.

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Tertullian, who, as Eusebius says, E. H. ii. 2, was a man most learned in the roman laws, and otherwise famous, particularly for his knowledge of roman concerns, says, in the apology which he delivered to the emperor Severus, chapter 5—"There was an ancient statute
 " that no God should be consecrated by the king, unless the Senate
 " consented to it. Marcus Æmilius Tiberius therefore, in
 " whose reign the name of Christians was first known in the world, on
 " a report being made to him, from Palestine, of this divinity, referred it to the Senate, as if he had a right to vote first on the occasion: but the Senate, not approving it, rejected the proposal. Cæsar,
 " however, continued of the same persuasion, and threatened *periculum* to the accusers of Christians."—Vetus erat decretum, ne qui Deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus. Scil. M. Æmilius de Deo propitius esse debebit. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen christianorum in seculum introivit, annunciata sibi ex Syriâ Palæstinâ qua illic veritatem istius divinitatis revelarunt, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativâ suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententiâ mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus christianorum.

This, Tertullian asserted at Rome, before the then emperor, in the course of the second century, in defence of the faith of Christians—and, afterwards recorded it. And, we find, it is almost a transcript of the letter of Tiberius to Abgarus. The only thing in which it differs from that letter is this, that he uses the word *danger*, whereas Tiberius uses the word *death*.*

Let us hear what Eusebius and Jerom say of this matter:

Eusebius, we find, in two of his works—viz—his chronology and his E. hist. ii. 2, mentions this interference of Tiberius in behalf of ac-

* For this difference we hope to account in the next two chapters.

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cused Christians, and, in each work, as the report of Tertullian, in each too as unobjectionable. But though he has, in each work, acknowledged that he derived his information from Tertullian, it is observable, that he, in each work, substitutes the word *θανατον* for periculum. In his chronology (most of which, it may be right to observe, he borrowed from Africanus, who was a cotemporary with Tertullian) he has mentioned the year in which he supposes this event took place—viz—xxii. of Tiberius. In his history he devotes a chapter to the relation of this most remarkable occurrence. But though he has, in the last chapter of the first book, given us copies of the letters that passed between Abgarus and our Lord, yet, it is not a little observable, that he does not say any thing of those letters which passed between Abgarus and Tiberius, and which, Moses Chorenensis informs us, were deposited in the same archives.

Jerom also mentions this interposition of Tiberius in behalf of Christians, and on the authority of Tertullian, in his chronology.—And of that work, he, in his epist. to Vincentius and Gallienus, says, he partly translated, partly composed. What he composed, he adds, is mostly in the roman history. Now in that chronology he not only says, with Eusebius, that the punishment which Tiberius threatened was death—he also adds a circumstance or two omitted both by Tertullian and Eusebius, and, one, at least, of a most remarkable import, and which may fairly be supposed to have provoked the emperor's threat—viz—that the Senate decreed that all Christians should be expelled from Rome. Indeed Jerom, both in his former and latter book, has expressly assigned this as the reason. For he says in each—*Verum quum ex consulto Patrum Christianos eliminari Urbe placuisset, Tiberius per edictum accusatoribus christianorum comminatus est mortem.*

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Now can it be supposed that Jerom would not only have said, with Eusebius, that *death* was the punishment threatened by Tiberius—but have also added, that the Senate first decreed that all Christians should depart from Rome—and that the emperor issued another decree “*edictum*”—and have said it as a thing never contradicted, and in latin too, if he had not, on enquiry, found that it was really so?—These added circumstances are alone enough to prove that Jerom did not copy his account of this transaction from Eusebius. But a much stronger proof of it may be obtained by comparing their reports with each other. Eusebius, in his E. H., says—ο δε αυτος Πιλατος Τιβεριοι τα κατα τον Σωτηρα αναγαγων και τη Χριστιανων δογματος, εκινωσεν εις ερωτα πιξεως, Τιβεριος τε προς την συγκλητον εκοινολογησατο περι της εις Χριστον πιξεως—της δε με πειθομενης, αλλα μωριαν ηγεμενης το κηρυγμα τη σαυρη, ο αυτος θανατον εψηφισατο κατα των διωκτων των Χριστιανων, ως Τερτυλλιανος ισορει.—And Jerom, in his L. P., says—Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter cætera sacra reciperetur—Verum, &c.—exactly as we quoted before.

This opposite behaviour then of the roman Senate, and of Tiberius, with regard to believers, appears to have been universally believed by Christians in very early days—and moreover to have been by no one contradicted. No appeal was ever made to the presumed silence of roman or jewish historians concerning it. And it appears, that it would have been but to little use to make such appeal, for the writings of Philo and Josephus, of Suetonius and Tacitus, when rightly understood, are alone sufficient to establish the credibility of the fact, notwithstanding all their care to avoid even the appearance of having noticed it, so prevaricating are the accounts which they have given of what happened in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius.

Jerom, we perceive, says, that the Christians *only* were ordered to quit Rome—that is, surely, believing Jews and believing Romans.—

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And the jewish and roman writers say that the Jews *alone*, or, as Josephus says—*παι το Ιουδαϊκον*—were, two or three years after Christ had been preached in that city, expelled. Were then all the Jews, believers and unbelievers, and all the roman converts to the faith, expelled about the same time?—If so, must not Rome have been almost left desolate?—But by whom were they expelled?—If the Jews were, as Philo and the Evangelists say, very much attached to Cæsar—that is, to Tiberius, and Tiberius was, as Christian writers say, the patron of Christians, in spite too of the Senate, is it at all likely that he would have expelled either of them?—Unless they disagreed so much that it was absolutely necessary?—Did they then disagree about any religious point so much as to render the interference of Tiberius necessary?

If the Senate would not admit Christ to be God, and gave this reason for their refusal—because Tiberius had previously acknowledged him to be so, was it not an encouragement for unbelievers, especially Jews, to accuse believers of worshipping an unlawful Deity? And if the Senate encouraged such accusers may they not have expelled Christians as soon as they discovered them to be such?—That is, merely for deifying Christ?—And may not this have provoked Tiberius to publish his edict threatening periculum, or death, to the accusers of Christians?—But why, if the Senate did not put Christians to death, should Tiberius have threatened to put their accusers to death? That the Senate did not punish such offenders with death, we know, but though the Senate may not have done it, yet why may not the Jews be supposed to have stoned jewish believers, if not their profelytes, as blasphemers of God?—Or, rather to have sent such to Jerusalem to be tried and stoned for that offence?—If, as Luke says, the Sanhedrin was permitted to send to strange cities for Christians, in order to try them for blasphemy, and to stone them, why may they

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not have also sent to Rome for such offenders?—And if the Sanhedrin did claim this privilege why may not Tiberius, on that account, have thought proper to threaten death to Jews for putting jewish believers to death as blasphemers of God?—And why may not this serve to explain the reason of the mission of the 4,000 jewish libertines to Sardinia?—This, at least, we know, that the persecution of blasphemers, by Paul, lasted but a very short time, and then for ever ceased, but why, we know not.

CHAPTER XVII.

Who were accusers?—When did they begin to accuse?—How long did they continue their practice?—By whom were they encouraged?—By whom, and when, were they suppressed?

Who were the accused?—Of what were they accused?—Before whom were they accused?—To what punishment were they liable?

WE read in the work of no writer but in those of the two Senecas, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion, of accusers being permitted to disturb the peace of a city for any considerable length of time, without being informed why they were permitted to do it. Those writers tell us that, in the reign of Tiberius, and in that only, and in a no inconsiderable part of it, (that is, as Tacitus seems to say, iv. 32, 33. from the 10th year of his reign—or, rather, as he says, iv. 69, from the 14th, till, as Dion says, 58, 631, D., a little after the death of Sejanus—or, perhaps, as Dion again says, 58, 634, E., till the 19th—for then, he there says, Tiberius, in one day, put all the principal accusers to death,) the calamities which this set of Taraxipolides in-

Accusers who, &c.?—Accused who, &c.?

flicted on the people of Rome were worse than those occasioned by any civil war. Now as Tiberius was, during all that period, residing at Capreæ, and as he is said, by one, to have been then the worse for age, and by others, to have been, during the first three or four years of it, wasted with grief, and again, by others, to have resigned the management of public affairs to Sejanus, by whom he was, as Dion says, 58, p. 623, B., kept in ignorance of every thing done at Rome, and as he is said, by Dion, to have, at last, put all the principal accusers to death, in one day, why may we not, all this considered, suppose that those accusers were encouraged, not by Tiberius, but by Sejanus?—Does not Seneca sen. appear to give us reason to think so, by saying, *Consol ad Mar. c. 22*, that Sejanus was the onsetter of them?—And does not Dion too appear to give us still greater reason to think so, by speaking, 58, p. 631, C., of the keenness with which Tiberius, after the death of Sejanus, prosecuted *Sejanic* accusations?—Of this we, however, may be sure, that accusers could not, during the residence of Tiberius at Capreæ, have disturbed the peace of Rome so very much, and, so long, unless they had been permitted so to do, either by Sejanus, or, by the Senate; by Sejanus principally no doubt, as we are informed by Dion, 58, p. 622, B., that the Senate were so completely subservient to him as to worship him.—Now if those accusers were encouraged by Sejanus, and by the Senate, may they not, as Sejanus is, by several writers, said to have entered into a conspiracy, with most of the Senate, against his sovereign, be supposed to have been encouraged to carry on some design hostile to the sovereignty of Tiberius—especially, as Tiberius is said, both by Tacitus, iv. 71, 74, vi. 2, and by Dion, l. 58, p. 627, A., 630, A., to have been afraid, during all the time those accusers were permitted to prowl, of appearing at Rome, and in the Senate?—Of this, however, we hope to be able to inform ourselves as we proceed.

Accusers who, &c.?—Accused who, &c.?

Of all cotemporary writers, it is not a little remarkable, that the two Senecas only take notice of those accusers, and their extreme maleficence. All the rest—viz—Paterculus, V. Maximus, Agrippa, Philo, and Clemens of Rome are entirely silent on the subject. Indeed three of those writers—viz—V. Maximus, Agrippa, and Philo seem, as we shall come to see presently, not to have been aware that the peace of Rome was, at any time in the reign of Tiberius, especially from the 14th to the 18th, so much disturbed. And though the other two seem to have acknowledged, as well as the two Senecas, that it was, by some means, disturbed—and in the 14th, or before the 16th—yet they do not say that it was disturbed by accusers. One of those two—viz—Clemens, says, that the disturbance happened in the 14th, and that Tiberius, from that time, instead of encouraging accusers to disturb the peace of any one, ordered the *maleficient* to be searched for, in order to put them to death, first at Rome, and afterwards in every province—Cæsar in urbe Româ, et per provincias maleficos inquiri jussit ac perimi; ex quibus multi jam perempti sunt. R. x. 55. And the other—viz—Paterculus, that it ended before the end of the 16th.—But let us hear what each of those cotemporaries says of the peace of Rome during the reign of Tiberius—and, for the purpose of comparing their several reports with that of each other.—From Romans, Jews, and Christians we may hope to be able to get at something like the truth.

Paterculus says, ii. 126, where he enumerates the various blessings which the Romans had been enjoying under Tiberius, till the 16th of his reign—*revocata in forum fides, submota e foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia.*—And what are we to understand by all this? When, before the 16th of the reign of Tiberius, had faith been expel-

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led from the forum?—And why?—When, before the same year, had any sedition taken place in the forum?—And why?—When did the discord in the Senate, here mentioned, happen, and why?—Did this discord happen at the same time as the sedition in the forum?—Whenever those dissensions may have happened, and whatever may have been the occasion of them, who, but Tiberius, by the instrumentality of Sejanus, can, by this writer's report, have put an end to them? After having said this to Vinicius, the then consul, Paterculus immediately subjoins—*Quando pax lætior? Diffusa pax Augusta per omnes terrarum orbis angulos.* And did such an universal peace succeed those disturbances—and, in the 16th of Tiberius?—How long did it last?

V. Maximus seems to corroborate this evidence of Paterculus, concerning the peace which took place in the 16th of Tiberius, by what he says, ix. 11, where he is speaking of the consequences of the fall of Sejanus—*Itaque stat pax, valent leges, sincerus privati ac publici officii tenor fervatur.*

Agrippa, who was intimate with Drusus, the son of Tiberius, as long as he lived, and afterwards lived at Capreæ, with Tiberius, says nothing of this vile practice—on the contrary, he, though he was imprisoned by Tiberius, represents his government, even to his kinsman Caius, when he was afraid to appear in his presence, as having been uniformly beneficial to mankind at large, and to the Jews above any other people.

Philo says, in F. p. 758, F., that Tiberius was ever ready to punish any of his foreign magistrates for oppression. And, Leg. p. 769, B., that he enjoyed, to the end of his reign, such a peace as was never known before. And though he says of him, p. 785, F., that he listened to the accusations of Sejanus against the Jews of Rome, so much as to consent to the expulsion of them from thence—yet he also says,

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that he, immediately after the fall of his prime minister, wrote to all his foreign præfects, commanding them to use the Jews, (*a few excepted*) in their several departments, kindly. And again, in F. p. 748, D., he says, that the people of Egypt, who were under the more immediate care of the emperor, were during the last five or six years of his reign, unusually happy. It was not till the 8th month after the death of Tiberius that this profound peace was disturbed, when, as he says, in F. p. 749, F., a certain description of people, whom he calls *Taraxipolides*, or city plagues, and who seem to have been very like those accusers about whom we are enquiring, disturbed the peace of the Jews of Alexandria, but under what pretence, it is not a little remarkable, he does not say.

Seneca sen. in his *Consol. ad Marc. c. 19*, (which *Consol.* it may not be amiss to observe, he wrote three years after the death of her father Cremutius Cordus, who, as Tacitus says, *iv. 34*, died early *u. c. 778*, and therefore in the beginning of *u. c. 781*—in the 14th of Tiberius, or, a little before the execution of Sabinus—and about a year before the death of Livia) says to her—*nulla publica clades nulla privata conspicitur*—which seems to intimate that, in the beginning of the 14th of Tiberius, all things remained in a state of tranquillity—and, he had before, *c. 15*, classed Tiberius with the greatest of all great and most eminently virtuous men. But Seneca also says, a little after, in the same work, *c. 22*, what looks a little like a plain contradiction of the passage just adverted to—viz—that Sejanus used to encourage informers against *every body*, by feeding them, for his own purpose, *with human blood*—*Subscriptio, et acerrimi canes, quos ille, ut sibi uni mansuetos, omnibus feros haberet, sanguine humano pascebat, circumlatrare etiam hominem, et illum imparatum incipiunt.*—And, a

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little after this, he seems to say, that Sejanus was the original onfetter of accusers—*Accusatores Sejano auctore, &c.*—Now if Seneca be correct in what he here says of accusers, does it not seem that Sejanus, and not Tiberius, *began*, u. c. 778, to encourage them?

Again, in another work of this writer, *Contr. Superst.*, he says, that the usage of a certain nameless people whom he represents as the most wicked of all wicked people, had, at a particular time, so far prevailed, that it had, after having encountered much opposition, obtained reception in all countries—the conquered having been enabled to give laws to the conquerors.—“*Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dedere.*”—Now to what nation can he, who died a year or two before Tiberius, be supposed to have alluded?—Of all nations then being, which is the most likely to have been considered by him as the most wicked of all others?—And as having had a usage not adopted by any other people?—We do not read, in the work of any roman writer, of any *nation* which was, in the days of the elder Seneca, considered as being eminently wicked, nor as having any custom or usage which the rest of mankind considered as being eminently objectionable—and which it wished to impose on the rest of the world, contrary to their inclination. Does not Philo say, *de vita*, M. p. 508, C. D., how little regard all the world had for the religious institutions of each other?—Of the disciples of Jesus Christ, who, when composed of various people, were, for a few years, still called Jews,* and afterwards Christians—we read, in Tacitus, A. xv. 44, that they were universally hated for their flagitious practices—that is, as Athenagoras and others say, for their atheism, their horrid feasts, their adulteries, and their computations—and, we also read, in the same passage of

* Dion, l. 37, p. 37. Suetonius, v. 23.

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Tacitus, that they had embraced a *most destructive superstition*, and that they, at first—in præsens—endeavored to obtain admission into Rome, and were then repulsed, and then—dein—as he says, i. 73, in spite of all opposition, established themselves in that city. May not Seneca then, by the most wicked of all nations, have meant Christians? Does not his son give us reason to suppose, by what he says, Ep. 108, that he is likely to have meant Christians?—He there says, that his father dissuaded him from abstaining any longer from the use of animal food, though after a year's trial, in compliance with a certain superstition, he had found it beneficial to him—this superstition, he says, was introduced into Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, and a little before the sacred rites of other nations were agitated. This superstition, subjoins he, my father, though he did not fear the *calumny* which was attached to it, hated as a species of philosophy, and therefore requested me to return to my former mode of living. And does not Seneca, by speaking of the conquest of this most wicked of all people, allude to something besides their subjugation?—For what people had not then been conquered by the Romans?—And how could Christians be said to have been then conquered, unless by having been, as Suetonius says, iii. 36, together with the Jews and Egyptians, expelled as similar sectaries?—Now if Suetonius did mean that the Jews, Egyptians, and the like sects, were, as being Christians, expelled from Rome, then, we find, they were, as Tacitus says, repressed, or, as Seneca says, subdued.—And Lipsius, we find, thinks, that Seneca as evidently here means Christians. Indeed what other class of sectaries, besides the Christian, were said to have been, of all men, the most wicked—or, could be said to have had so much prevalence over the whole world, as to impose on them any obnoxious custom? Could the Jews, or any other people, be said to have been, after the year 774, at war with the Romans—

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and could they, or any other people, be said, after that time, to have conquered their conquerors.—Tacitus, we find, says, A. xv. 44, with regard to the Jews—Sub Tiberio quies.

The Christians then seem to be covertly complained of by Seneca the elder, as having been, in the reign of Tiberius, conquered—or, as Tacitus says, of their execrable superstition, repressed—or, as Suetonius says, expelled from Rome. Now if Christians were expelled from Rome as Jews, &c. how should we suppose that any one was known to be of that persuasion but by accusers?

Seneca jun. says, de B. iii. 26, that the rage of accusers among the Roman citizens was, at one time in the reign of Tiberius, frequent and almost public—that is, we presume, common—and, not only frequent and public, or common, but even worse than any civil war—Sub T. C. accusandi frequens et pæne publica rabies. Excipiebatur ebriorum fermo, simplicitas jocantium.* But in what year of Tiberius this rage for accusing commenced—by whom those accusers of *drunkards* and *jesters* were set on—whether they accused them only of words spoken—and, before what tribunal they accused them, this writer does not say.—But he, we find, says, and to our no little astonishment, that those drunkards and jesters were indiscriminately condemned *to death* for it. What! Drunkards condemned to death for uttering a few incoherent expressions, and by that greatest of all drunkards Biberius Caldius Mero! Who made Piso, for his protracted computations, the præfect of Syria! And an obscure person, for a similar feat, a quæstor, and in preference to other noble candidates! And such persons too for only speaking! Seneca, surely, cannot have had the conscience to expect us to believe this.—And why, as the custom of accusing was so very common, were

* Who ever heard of the oratorical powers of drunken men—or, of the simplicity of jesters?

Accusers who, &c.?—Accused who, &c.?

drunkards and jesters only the objects of their accusations?—Of this rage of accusers he immediately subjoins an example.—Paul, says he, a prætorian, had a ring with an image of Tiberius in relief, with this ring on his finger he happened one day to be dining with a party, in which there was one Maro, a notorious accuser.* Paul being intoxicated, was so imprudent as to put his hand, with the ring on it, to a certain necessary utensil: which Maro instantly noticed as an act of impiety to Tiberius. That Maro did so the servant of Paul suspected, and contrived to take the ring from the hand of his master without being perceived by any one, and to keep it till the affair was heard, when he denied that his master had been so impious, and produced the ring as a proof.—Cœnabat Paulus prætorius, &c.—This story, it should be observed, Seneca appears to relate as an instance of the frequency and the publicity of the rage with which accusers worried, to the almost extirpation of the Roman people, *drunkards* and *jesters*, for *words* by them spoken. But is it really what he would have us to believe it is?—Was Paul accused of sermonizing when drunk?—Was he not, *when speechless*, accused of impiety to Tiberius?—And did not his slave instantly contrive to prove him innocent of this charge?—and, at the expence of proving him insensibly drunk?—But how happened it that he thought of prosecuting any one for this offence—at least, after the year 778?—Did the rest of his fort too prosecute for this offence?—Did they not know that Tiberius had, in that year, publicly, in the Senate, protested against the practice of erecting temples to any man?—Did they not know that he had then, by the account of Suetonius, iii. 26, forbidden any one to erect any statue or image to himself, without his permission, which he would never, but on this express condition, grant—that it should not be considered as sacred, but only as ornamental?—How then could Maro think of bringing a

* How happened it that Maro, so notorious an accuser, was admitted to be of this party?

Accusers who, &c.?—Accused who, &c.?

charge of such a nature against an insensibly drunken man, and of citing all the company to support his evidence?—Were they too ignorant of this prohibition?

But when does he say Rome was so violently agitated by accusers? That it could not have been so agitated in or *before* the 16th year of Tiberius we are assured by Paterculus and several other cotemporary writers. And that it could not have been so much disturbed by them *before* the 11th Tacitus assures us, iv. 32, where he complains that nothing worth the attention of an historian had then occurred;—that the peace of the city was then not disturbed—or, at least, but a little—that the face of things appeared unruffled.—*Nobis in arto et inglorious labor, &c. Immota quippe aut modice lacerata pax, moesta urbis res, et princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat. Non tamen sine usu fuerit, introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur.*—In the next chapter—viz—33, he indeed speaks of *continued accusations*, &c. And then, in the two next chapters, 34, 35, he relates the affair of Cremutius Cordus, (which, we have already seen, Seneca, the elder, speaks of in his *Consol. to Marcia*, the daughter of Cordus, in the year 781; at which time he observed to her that she had not been terrified by the sight of any calamity private or public.) And then, again, in the next, 36, he says, that the whole year had been so constantly occupied in hearing accusations that, on the *feriæ Latinæ*, the præfect of the city had been obliged to attend to them. In the same year, says he, chapter 37, Tiberius refused to be deified; which refusal seems to have put a stop, for the present, to the practice of accusers, for, he says very little of their proceedings, during the two following years. And, we find, that he says, iv. 69, that they began, in the 14th year, while Tiberius was at *Capræ*, to rage again *more than ever*, and that they caused, by the affair of Sabinus, inconceivably more terror, all over the city, than

Accusers who, &c.?—Accused who, &c.?

ever.—Non alias magis, &c.—This excessive rage of the then set of accusers he seems to say, 71, did not last long—they were soon supplanted by others—Ni mihi destinatum foret, suum quæque in annum referre, avebat animus anteire, statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinius et Opfus ceterique flagitii ejus repertores habuere, non modo postquam C. Cæsar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio: qui scelerum ministros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat; ita plerumque satiatus, et *oblatis in eandem operam recentibus*, veteres et prægraves afflixit: verum, &c. Indeed Tacitus says, vi. 30, that Tiberius, in the 19th year of his reign, punished all accusers.—Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, pœnis afficiebantur.—From those few remarks adduced from the iv. and vi. books of Tacitus, on this point, it appears pretty clearly that the peace of Rome began to be disturbed by accusers, in the 11th of Tiberius—that in the 12th and 13th it was not much disturbed—that in the 14th it was most outrageously disturbed—and that in the 19th it ceased to be disturbed. Consequently why should we not conclude that the rage of accusers, which Seneca jun. mentions as having taken place in the reign of Tiberius, and which, he says, was attended with more dreadful effects than any civil war, first happened in the 14th of his reign, and that it continued about two years?—Does not Suetonius, by what he says, iii. 37, encourage us still more to draw this conclusion?—He there says, that Tiberius most grievously suppressed some popular tumults—and, that he not only did so, but that he took great care that they should never more happen—Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit; et ne orirentur sedulo cavit.—Of course, if he took so much care that popular commotions should never happen, those which he suppressed so grievously could not have happened after those mentioned in the 14th year, which are mentioned by Clemens of Rome, *Recog.* i. 10, and by Tacitus, iv. 74.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Tiberius forbid the Jews to stone jewish believers, but did not forbid them to stone, as usual, other Jews.

BY reconsidering what was said in the xv. chapter, we may perceive that neither the Evangelists, nor Agrippa, nor Philo, nor Josephus accuse Tiberius of having, in the least, irritated the Jews by any innovation in their religious concerns. And we, on the contrary, perceive that each of those writers testifies that he was extremely kind to them, and had a great veneration for the object of their religious worship—the Evangelists say, that he was so well disposed towards the Jews, and towards their religion, from the xiv. year of his reign till the end of the xvi.—that the rulers of the Jews, in the xiv., acknowledged him as their only king—and that they, in the two following years, took the liberty of sending any where for transgressors, even for those who, on the testimony of Moses, acknowledged Jesus to be the true Messiah, and for the purpose of imprisoning them, in order to try them for blasphemy against Moses, and, if guilty, of stoning them—and, the rest of those jewish writers say that he was very kind to the Jews every where, and very forward to cause their mode of

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worship to be respected, even till his death. How then is it that we are told that the Talmud of Jerusalem has recorded a tradition, that Israel was deprived of the power of putting any one to death, even one sentenced by Moses—and, in the 40th year before the destruction of Jerusalem?—that is, in the course of the 16th of Tiberius, almost to a day. Who but Tiberius can be supposed to have done it?—And who, but a simpleton, can have thought that he did?—Especially, as he must have known that Tiberius, at the same time, permitted the Jews to send any where out of Judea, not only for transgressors of the law, but even for those who believed that Jesus was the person foretold by Moses, and that he was equal with God, and to stone them to death for it. And yet the two professors, (especially the latter) alluded to in a former chapter, seem to say, that Tiberius had nothing to do with it—nor Sejanus, who, as Philo, we find, informs us, in F. p. 747, ad C. p. 785, sought the destruction of the whole nation, but that the procurator for the time being did it himself. The last alluded to, of those most celebrated Theologians, says, vol. iii. part ii. p. 83—“ If the Sanhedrin *obtained from Marcellus* a privilege which they did not enjoy under Pilate, they *of course*, took the earliest opportunity of making use of it.”—And can those two peerless professors have really thought that it was possible to persuade us that the roman procurators of Judea had undoubtedly the power of making any alteration in the religious establishment of the Jews, especially one that was the grand support of their hierarchy?—And that the Jews submitted to it without the least opposition, even without appealing to their acknowledged king, who, as Agrippa told Caius, p. 800, B., they were confident would not consent to the infringement of their law by Pilate in any case?—Τιβεριος οδεν εθελει των ημετερων καταλυσθαι.—If the power of punishing capital transgressors of the law had been taken away from

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the Jews by any procurator under Tiberius, with what propriety could Agrippa have ventured to remind his cousin of the suspension of the figureless gilt shields, not in the temple, but in the palace of Herod, at Jerusalem, by Pilate—or, of the remonstrance of four of the king's sons, with others of the royal family, to that governor, on that subject—or, of the petition which they then threatened to send to Tiberius, and which, it seems, they afterwards found themselves obliged to send to Rome?—Tiberius, added Agrippa, was, on hearing of the transaction, (though Pilate stated he had done it out of respect to his sovereign—and, that there was no figure on them,) most unusually exasperated at the presumption of his præfect to do a thing which was considered by the Jews as a profanation of the sanctity of Jerusalem, and instantly ordered him to remove them.—Or, rather, it may be asked, would Agrippa, if Pilate had afterwards taken from the Jews the power of stoning blasphemers, have thought of objecting to the mad project of Caius at all?—What other reply could he have expected to receive from his imperial kinsman but the following?—Pray remember how contentedly you, and all your race, bore to be deprived of the power of putting any one to death—a power without which your hierarchy could not have existed, and, by Pilate?—Why then is all this opposition made to my, not much more objectionable, project? And if Tiberius himself had, at any time, deprived the Jews of this support of their religion, why did not Caius express his surprize at the totally opposite behavior of Agrippa, on that emergency, and, on the present?—On that occasion, he, says Josephus, desired permission of Tiberius to pay his respects to him, and consented, as soon as he was asked, to become one of his domestics—but, on the present, he was so shocked, at the profaneness of the project of Caius, that he fainted away, and was, the day following, incapable of seeing that prince.—Besides, if this privation took place in the 16th year of Tiberius, must

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it not have happened about the time when the persecution, which followed the murder of Stephen, ceased?—that is, about the time when the churches had rest?—Or, a little after Saul was converted—and, before he went up to Jerusalem and preached boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus?—And, lastly, before the conversion of Cornelius, who, Clemens of Rome and Eusebius say, was converted before the death of Tiberius.—Now in what year of Tiberius or of Rome did that persecution cease?

In the first place, we take it for granted, that Paul was converted long before Cornelius was, because his conversion is spoken of Acts ix. and that of Cornelius in the next chap.—In the mean time, says Luke, Peter visited all the churches, and tarried, we know not how long, at Joppa—*ικανας ημερας*.—Now Cornelius was, as Clemens of Rome and Eusebius inform us, converted long before the death of Tiberius—the former says, *Recog. x. 55*, and *Epit. cxxxiv.*, that Cornelius was the bearer of a precept from Tiberius to the præfect of Cæsarea, on some extraordinary business of a public nature—and the latter, *Eccl. Hist. ii. 3*, places the conversion of Cornelius under Tiberius. Again—Clemens of Alexandria informs us, *Strom. iv. p. 528, B.*, that Paul, though but a young man, became, immediately after the ascension, a perfect Christian—*ιστον μεν τοι, οτι ει και ο Παυλος τοις χρονοις νεαζει, ευθεως μετα την τε Κυριου ανληψιν ακμασας*.—Now as Clemens, we find, also says, *i. p. 274*, that he obtained his information from his elders, one of whom, and the best informed, he says, was an hebrew—*ανεκαθεν*—of Palestine, why should we not think him entitled to credit on this point? Eusebius too appears to have been of the same opinion with Clemens, for, in his *Eccl. Hist. ii. 1*, he says, that the conversion of Saul followed that of the Eunuch by Philip—*και επι τητοις κ. τ. λ.*—He moreover seems to say that the conversion of Saul happened before Tiberius protected

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Christians—for he mentions the former event in the first chapter, and the latter in the second.—With this report of Clemens the Alexandrian, and of Eusebius, we find, that one of the excerpta utilissima, extracted from the chronology of Africanus, &c. and published by Scaliger, seems to agree—Paulus autem Apostolus post ascensionem Domini, et post passionem Stephani dierum, in Apostolatum ordinatur vi. idus Januariis in consulatu Rubellionis, post ascensionem Salvatoris nostri menses vii. post dies xi. passionis Stephani, pridie Epiphaniæ.

The persecution of jewish believers, which followed the murder of Stephen, appears then to have been begun about eight months after the crucifixion of our Lord, and in the beginning of u. c. 782—and, about the same time, before the beginning of the xvi. year of Tiberius, when, the Talmud of Jerusalem says, the power of inflicting capital punishments was taken from Israel.—Now as the churches of Judea, &c. are said by Luke, Acts ix. 31, to have had rest, long before the conversion of Cornelius, (for Peter, in the interim, visited all the churches of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and at Joppa remained—*ἕως ἡμερᾶς*) and, as Paul is said not only to have returned to Damascus, but to have gone up to Jerusalem, and there to have preached boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, within three years after his conversion, why should we not conclude that the persecution of the churches of Judea, &c. must, in the mean time, have been put a stop to?—And by whom could it have been done but by Tiberius?—And how could he have done it so well as by forbidding the Sanhedrin to stone jewish Christians as blasphemers?—Leaving them to stone capital transgressors of the law, as usual, and even to send to foreign cities, as usual, for all sorts of transgressors of it.

On reconsidering the whole of what has been observed of this matter, why should we not suspect that Tiberius could not, as we are told the

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Talmud of Jerufalem seems to affirm, have, at any time, taken from the Jews the power of punishing the transgressors of the law of Moses with death?—And why, on the other hand, should we not suspect that he, in the 16th year of his reign, took from Israel the usurped power of punishing their believing brethren with death?—How otherwise can it be accounted for that the persecution, which followed the murder of Stephen, ceased?—And, that Paul, *shortly after*, went up to Jerufalem and spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed with the hellenists?—That he went up, *very shortly after*, why should we not conclude, from what Luke says in the Acts—viz—that *all* the disciples were afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple?—Does not Clemens R. seem to intimate, that Tiberius did interfere in behalf of jewish believers, by saying, that he ordered inquisition to be made for the maleficent, all over the provinces, for punishing them with death?—that he had already put many to death, and that he sent Cornelius to apprehend Simon, the opposer of the Apostles, for the same purpose?—And does not Philo seem to intimate the same thing, by what he says, in his Leg, of the conduct of Tiberius towards certain of the Jews, in the provinces, after their expulsion from Rome?—viz—he there says, that Tiberius ordered all his cheirotized hyparchs to comfort the Jews, in their respective districts, and to punish a few only who were culpable.—And does he not again seem to intimate the same thing, by what he says, in his work against Flaccus, of the Taraxipolides?—Who were those Taraxipolides?—And why did they appear in the time of the profoundest peace that was ever known?

Both Agrippa and Philo then are so far from giving us any encouragement to believe this tradition, that they, on the contrary, as good as tell us, that it was not thought of in their time.—And what better

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evidence respecting this affair can be expected than that of a king of the Jews, who, was ever intimate with the family of Tiberius, and, but a year or two after, lived with him, and that of their own ambassador to Caius?—But we are not confined to their testimony only on this point, for Josephus too has not only not thought this most important point not worth noticing—he has also, we find, said enough in his A. and B. to convince us that the Jews would not have suffered the fundamental law of their religion to be suspended without a proportionate opposition, if not, that Tiberius could not have thought of treating them so injuriously. For besides having mentioned the extreme grief which the Jews suffered when Pilate introduced the standards at Jerusalem, and their extreme desperation when Caius had resolved on having his statue erected, as that of a God, in the temple at Jerusalem; he has also mentioned how much they were troubled at the attempt of Pilate to violate the sacred treasury. And this concern for their treasury, it should be observed, he seems to say they manifested pretty nearly about the time when his predecessors are understood to have asserted this total privation took place. For, immediately after he has related how Pilate introduced the standards into Jerusalem, he proceeds, in the next section, (β) to relate this other attempt of that procurator to violate their sacred treasury. And again, in the section following, (γ) he says, *about the same time—κατα τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*—Jesus performed a thousand wonderful works. And, lastly, he, in the next section, (δ) proceeds to say, and *about the same time—καὶ ὑπο τῆς αὐτῆς χρόνης*—the Jews of Rome were driven from that city. Now the Jews of Rome were, we have seen, CHAP. xv., expelled in the year 783, or, in the same year in which the Talmud of Jerusalem says tradition affirmed that Israel was deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishments. Consequently why should we not conclude

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that Pilate seems very likely to have endeavored to annoy the Jews by those two infringements of their laws about the year 783?—If what Josephus says, A. xviii. 5, β., has been rightly understood, Pilate cannot well be supposed to have vexed the Jews thus before the year above specified—for if, as the two professors above alluded to will have it, Tiberius died while Pilate was on his voyage to Rome, and had then, as Josephus says, governed Judea ten years, he must have been made governor of Judea before April 780: and as Josephus says that the winter was begun—*χειμαδισσαν εν Ιεροσολυμοις*—when he introduced the standards into Jerusalem, he cannot well be supposed to have done it before that year was nearly ended: and, as he also says, that Pilate afterwards began the aqueduct, and, that it was, at least, two or three if not four hundred furlongs—that is, 30 or 40 if not 50 miles long, the probability of our preceding conclusion will be the more apparent.*

Now as Josephus appears to have placed both of those events about the year in which the Talmud of Jerusalem affirms tradition placed the privation in question, and the latter of them in that year—and has told us how uneasy the Jews were on each of those occasions—and how many lives were lost on the latter—but has not taken the least notice of any uneasiness which this privation caused;—what can be plainer than that he knew nothing of this transaction?

Before we proceed to consider any other testimony of Josephus on this point, it may not be amiss to observe that the introduction of the standards into Jerusalem must, by what Agrippa told Caius of the suf-

* Eusebius says, Eccl. hist. ii. 6, that Pilate was, by the Almighty, permitted to vex the Jews thus, for *their having put our Lord to death*—*συναδει δ' αυτω και ο Ιωσηπος, ομοιως απο των Πιλατε χρονων και των κατα τε σωτηρος ημων τετολμημενων, τας κατα παντος τε εθνους εναρξασθαι σημαινων συμφορας.*

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pension of the shields in the palace of Herod, have been two different events; and that Pilate, it may be made to appear, must have suspended the shields after he had introduced the standards.

Josephus, besides asserting that they were standards, also says, the image of Cæsar was affixed to them.—Agrippa, on the direct contrary, reminded Caius that they were plain *gilt unadorned shields*, with no inscription whatever on them besides the names of Tiberius and Pilate. Josephus tells us that those standards were conveyed into the city by night and by stealth. Agrippa said that they were dedicated to Cæsar, and suspended in Herod's palace, where Pilate resided—and, of course, were intended to remain there. Josephus says that the people were so alarmed at it that they instantly assembled, even from distant parts, and went down to Cæsarea to request Pilate that he would order them to be removed instantly—and, that Pilate kept them there, in suspense, six or seven days—and, that he then mounted his tribunal, under a pretence of hearing their complaint, but, instead of doing so, he gave a private signal to his soldiers to surround the multitude, and then ordered them, on pain of being treated as seditious, instantly to disperse, that they refused to disperse, saying that they would rather be cut in pieces than see the holy city profaned. Pilate, says Josephus, perceiving how invincible the Jews were, instantly, of his own accord, ordered the standards to be removed. Agrippa reminded Caius how the king's sons, and others of the nobility, remonstrated with Pilate, and desired to see the emperor's precept, which, as he had it not to shew them, they hinted that they meant to send to Rome for satisfaction on the point, which made Pilate apprehensive that his other numerous oppressions would be made known—that they did send a deputation to Rome, and that Tiberius was, though not easily irritated, on hearing the charge, very much enaged, and ordered Pilate to remove the obnoxious shields forthwith.

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Now who can think that those jewish writers meant to report the same transaction?—And, if they did not, who can help thinking that Agrippa meant to remind Caius of that which happened last?—Can any one suppose that Pilate presumed to offer two such open acts of violence to the religious notions of the Jews after Tiberius had reprimanded him so severely for his having dedicated those unwrought shields, in the palace of Herod, to himself?

As then the two impious attempts of Pilate, mentioned by Josephus, appear to have taken place about the time of our Lord's crucifixion, and the latter of the two in 783; that other, mentioned by Agrippa, must, in all probability, have happened a little after in the same year, or, in the year when the Talmud of Jerusalem has been understood to say, tradition affirmed that Israel was deprived of the power of putting any one to death, and, as our cotemporary professors suppose, by Pilate, and in the year too when the persecution by Saul seems to have ceased. But as Agrippa, we find, told Caius that the Jews were, at the time, confident that Tiberius would not suffer the least point of their law to be violated, and that he reprimanded Pilate so severely for so trifling an offence, how can we think that he, in the same year, either deprived them of the support of their whole law himself or permitted Pilate to do so?

Lastly, Josephus tells us, A. xviii. 5, how civilly Vitellius behaved to the Jews on two or three occasions—when he first went up to Jerusalem he remitted the tax on fruit, and permitted the chief priests to keep, as they used to do formerly, the sacred stole.—And, again, when he was marching with Herod against Aretas, he desisted, at the request of the Jews, from his intention of marching his troops through Judea.

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Instead then of finding this most extraordinary privation recorded by every one of the early jewish writers, we find, to our no little astonishment, that not one of them has mentioned it. And, we moreover find, that each of them has said enough to convince us that Tiberius would never allow any *privilege* to be taken from the Jews—and that the Jews would have resisted any attempt to do it, and above all that of stoning blasphemers.

CHAPTER XIX.

The rise of Sejanus.

L. Ælius Sejanus was, says Tacitus, i. 7, 24, the son of Sejus Strabo, the chief, as Paterculus says, ii. 127, of the roman knights, and of a lady of rank, who was related to several noble families, one of which was probably the Ælian.—He had, says Paterculus, ii. 127, brothers, cousins, and an uncle, of consular dignity.—His maternal uncle's name was, says Tacitus, iii. 35, 72, Junius Blæsus, who was the last subject dignified with the title of—Imperator.

Sejus Strabo, the father of Sejanus, was in so great favor with Augustus that he made him the commander of his guards, which honorable and important station he filled when Augustus died.—After the death of his patron, Strabo followed the example of the consuls in swearing allegiance to Tiberius, who continued him in the same important office, and afterwards made him the governor of Egypt, when he made Sejanus the commander of the guards.

The rise of Sejanus.

Sejanus, on his entrance into life, was, says Tacitus, iv. 1, a companion of Caius Cæsar, the first husband of Livilla, and, consequently seems to have been brought up in the court of Augustus, and to have been born rather early in his reign.—He, as Josephus says, A. xviii. 7, s., was also afterwards a companion of Drusus, the second husband of Livilla.

Soon after the accession of Tiberius, Sejanus, who was, even then, in great authority under Tiberius, was, says Tacitus, i. 24, made his father's colleague in the command of the guards, and sent as rector to Drusus, then about 23 years old, with two prætorian cohorts, to reduce to obedience the legions in Pannonia, under Junius Blæsus.

About the beginning of the 7th year of Tiberius, the daughter of Sejanus was, says Tacitus, iii. 29, contracted to a son of Claudius.—This contract, it seems, must have been entered into by the parents of the young couple in their childhood—for Tacitus himself says, v. 9, that she was but a girl ten years after—and Suetonius says, v. 27, that this same contracted son of Claudius died at Pompeii, being choaked by a pear, which he tossed up in play and endeavored to catch in his mouth. The report of this stipulated marriage was, as Tacitus says, heard of with indignation—as tending to debase the imperial family, and, to inflate the excessive hope of Sejanus—especially by Drusus, as he intimates, iv. 7—but still more, we presume, by the haughty Agrippina, and her adherents.—But would this contract have been entered into while the parties were so very young, and, have been in force for ten years (for so Dion says, l. 58, p. 628, C.,) without the consent of all the principal branches of the imperial family—for instance—of Tiberius, Antonia, Livia, and Livilla?—As to its tending to inflate the vanity of Sejanus, how could the prospect of an alliance with the family of Claudius, in the person of a lad, have inflated *his* mind.

The rise of Sejanus.

who, if we may believe Tacitus, probably had, at the time, a much nearer prospect of being more intimately allied to it in the person of Livilla?—Suetonius however tells us that a quite contrary report prevailed—viz—that Sejanus, so far from being elated at the prospect of having the son of Claudius for a son-in-law, contrived to murder him—and why he should be thought to have done so, unless it was because he would not have him for a son-in-law, no one can see.

One of the two sons of Sejanus was, says Tacitus, vi. 30, by the advice of Tiberius—*consilio Tiberii*—also contracted to a daughter of Lentulus Gætulicus, a man of consular dignity and commander of the legions in Upper Germany.—Whether this marriage ever took place it does not appear—if it did not, we may conclude from an expression which Tacitus uses in that chapter—viz—*unus omnium Sejani affinium incolumis, multâque gratiâ mansit*—that Lentulus Gætulicus was, by some means or other, allied to Sejanus.

In the course of the year 775 Sejanus distinguished himself much by his exertions to save the city, when it was in great danger by a fire which happened in Pompey's Theatre.—Tiberius highly commended him for his exertions to save the city—and, the Senate voted him a statue in the new building.—About the same time Junius Blæsus, his uncle, who, about a year before, had been, by the interest of Sejanus, appointed proconsul of Africa, was, by the same interest, honoured with a triumph, and, soon after, with the title of—Imperator.

In the beginning of the year following, 776, the 9th of Tiberius, says Tacitus, iv. 1, the command of the prætorian cohorts was entrusted to Sejanus alone (that is, as Dion, we presume, seems to say, l. 57, p. 616, C., on the promotion of his father to the government of Egypt)—and, at the same time, prætorian honors were conferred on him by Tiberius—that is, surely, not without the approbation of

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Drusus (for Drusus had been before invested with tribunitial authority, and, as Tacitus says, iii. 56, had been made equal with his father in public matters)—which honors were never before known to have been conferred on any one of his rank. At the same time, says Dion, Tiberius made him one of his twenty privy councillors and his minister of state. This Dion remarks, Tiberius did, because his disposition was like his own. Now Tiberius, it should be observed, is said, even by Tacitus, to have been, at the time, the best and the most sagacious of princes, and to have employed only men of the most approved characters, even though they were but little known—*Res suas Cæsar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex famâ mandabat.*—And Philo, we find, says, that no prince knew men better than Tiberius. Can it then be supposed that he would have made choice of a bad minister?—Especially after so long a trial?—If we may believe Paterculus, ii. 127, who was intimate both with Tiberius and Sejanus, and who addressed his history to one of the then consuls, who was about to marry Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, Sejanus was, like his master, possessed of every excellence. But if we can believe Tacitus, iv. 1, he had scarce one excellence, and most bad qualities: and though by no means a match for Tiberius in cunning, was able to circumvent him.

No sooner was his commission enlarged than he, as Tacitus and Dion say, (though Suetonius, iii. 37, says, that Tiberius himself did it) proposed to collect all the prætorian cohorts, dispersed throughout Italy, into one body at Rome.

In the beginning of the 10th year of Tiberius, when it was usual to offer up prayers for the preservation of the emperor, the chief and other priests, *who, it seems, Tacitus, iv. 17, says, were mostly related to Agrippina*, prayed for the preservation of Nero and Drusus. This

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Tiberius resented highly. And, says Tacitus, Sejanus took care to inflame his resentment, by observing that the state was divided into two parties, so opposite, as to be ready to destroy each other—that Agrippina headed the adverse party—that it was become necessary to make an example of one or two of the ringleaders.—Instabat quippe Sejanus, incusabatque diductam civitatem, ut civili bello; esse qui se partium Agrippinæ vocent: ac ni resistatur, fore pluris. Neque aliud gliscentis discordiæ remedium, quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.

But did Sejanus think it at all necessary to apprise his most sagacious master, then residing at Rome, of what concerned his safety?—If not, why is he here introduced as the reporter of this wonderful discovery?—However, does not this seem to imply that the intercessions of the priests were supposed to have a tendency to promote disaffection?—And, that a sort of conspiracy had been entered into by Agrippina with certain leading men of Rome, in favor of Nero and Drusus?—If not that the adverse party considered Sejanus as active to defeat their design?—But who, does Tacitus say, were the chief conspirators with Agrippina?—And, by what means did they hope to carry their plot into effect?

Two of the principals, says he, were C. Silius and T. Sabinus—the former had commanded seven years in Germany—the latter, says Dion, was a leading man at Rome—*αὐδρος τῶν πρῶτων ἐν Ρώμῃ*.—Sofia Galla, the wife of Silius, was, says Tacitus, also accused, by Sejanus, of being an accomplice. Silius and his wife were, says he, tried immediately—T. Sabinus, about three years after. But were those the only ones concerned?—Was not Calpurnius Piso of the party?—If we may believe Paternulus, ii. 130, Silius and Piso seem to have been the

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chief conspirators, if not the only ones—Primum, ut scelerata Drusus Libo iniret consilia: deinde, ut Silius et Piso: quorum alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit alterius?—Indeed Tacitus himself seems to acknowledge, C. 21, that Piso was much more likely to have been immediately concerned in the conspiracy than Sabinus, for he says that he was tried immediately after Silius and his wife—not for his attachment to the family of Germanicus, we may well suppose, unless he was related to Piso, the governor of Syria, as he pretends they were, nor by the contrivance of Sejanus, but for having conspired against Cæsar—and, for having gone armed into the Senate-house—and on the evidence of Q. Granius.—Prisonem Q. Granius secreti sermonis inculcavit adversum majestatem habiti: adjecitque in domo venenum esse, eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam.

Sejanus then seems to have had nothing to do with the accusation of Piso, and, if so, and Piso was, as Paterculus says, in a conspiracy with Silius, may we not suspect that he did not accuse Silius?

In the 11th year, says Tacitus, iv. 39, Sejanus, who, we have seen, was, from his infancy, brought up with the imperial family—and who, three or four years before, had been advised, by Tiberius, to engage his daughter to a son of Claudius, the brother of Livilla, was, says he, importuned by Livilla to fulfill his promise of marrying her.—Sejanus, in compliance with her request, presented a petition to Tiberius to obtain his consent.—Tiberius, says Tacitus, delicately stated what might be objected to the alliance, and referred him to Antonia and Livia, as the persons nearer concerned; and concluded, not only with declaring that he would not, at a future time, oppose the match—but with assuring him that he would do great things for him.—Their attachment to each other, says Suetonius, iii. 65, continued till the year in which Sejanus fell, even though they both were, as Dion says, l. 58,

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p. 637, notorious adulterers—and Livilla, it seems, though at the time not married, with not a few, who were afterwards punished for it?—Whether they ever were afterwards married we shall come to enquire presently.

About a year after, that is, in the 12th of Tiberius, Sejanus demonstrated his attachment to Tiberius in a most remarkable manner: by risking his own life to save that of Tiberius, when the roof of the grotto fell on him in Campania, and many of his friends and attendants were wounded.—So high an opinion had Tiberius, says Tacitus, of this service rendered him by Sejanus, that he commissioned him to contrive the destruction of the family of Germanicus, and especially of Nero, the next in succession, who, he says, was, at the time, stimulated by his freedmen and clients to seize the present opportunity of shewing his spirit, and assured by them that the people of Rome and the army would support him.—But what kind of a recompence was this for having rendered him so vital a service?—Would it not have been much more acceptable to Sejanus if Tiberius had immediately consented to his marriage with Livilla?—and endeavored to obtain the consent of Antonia?—which, it seems, could hardly have been necessary, for as she was always much attached to Tiberius, and could not but have known that the only daughter of Sejanus was, by the approbation of Tiberius, about to be married to her grandson Drusus, she, no doubt, would have been very glad to reward such service with such an alliance.—Why then should Tiberius be said to have proposed such a thing to him as a reward for his important service, which could only have tended to deprive him of his pleasantest prospect.—Was it at all likely that the dependants of Nero could have attempted to persuade him that it was a proper time to oppose his uncle?—or, that he

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would be supported by the Romans?—If there was the least danger of an insurrection why did Tiberius, who, Tacitus says, A. iv. 67, used to be full of suspicions at Rome—*Manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas*—leave Rome, and with the commander of his guards? And, above all, why, if the people of Rome were inclined to side with Nero, did they, when the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ fell, and when the buildings on Mount Cœlius were burnt, petition Tiberius to alleviate their sufferings?

No sooner had this new office been proposed to Sejanus than he entered on it, not with reluctance, but with zeal, not clandestinely, but openly; and set spies on Nero, and even employed his brother Drusus, and his wife (who, Tacitus seems to say, iv. 60, was the daughter of Livia or Livilla,) to disclose his secrets.—And, a few months after, he set a military guard over not only him but also his mother.

In the beginning of the year 781, says Tacitus, Titius Sabinus, an illustrious knight, who had, more than three years before, been accused of conspiring with Agrippina and others, in favor of Nero and Drusus, was, as Tacitus pretends, imprisoned for continuing still his adherence to the family of Germanicus—or, rather for having suffered himself to be decoyed to speak honorably of Germanicus and his family, and most dishonorably of Sejanus, and even disrespectfully of Tiberius.—The particulars of his hard case, as related by Tacitus, we have had occasion to consider in two foregoing chapters—viz—vii. ix.—But as we, in those two chapters, were not so much concerned about the elucidation of the character of Sejanus, as that of Tiberius, we omitted to notice what other writers had and had not said of the part which Sejanus took in the accusation.—Let us therefore now attend to what one or two cotemporary writers say of this affair—and also what Dion says of it.

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Seneca, though he wrote his *Consolation to Marcia* about the very time, and in it accuses Sejanus of having been the cause of the death of Cordus, for speaking too freely of those in power, and of feeding his dogs with human blood, to make them more savage towards those he hated, has not noticed the fate of this knight.—Pliny, who, we have seen, says that Sabinus was prosecuted—*ex causâ Neronis*—has noticed it, but only for the sake of recording the fidelity of his dog, to the no little astonishment of the immense number of spectators who, regardless of the fate of Sabinus, stood observing its motions.—Dion says not a word of the attachment of Sabinus to the family of Germanicus, nor of the hostility of Sejanus to him, nor of his persecution of him on that account—neither does he say that Sabinus was accused of having charged either Sejanus or Tiberius of unjust severity towards the family of Germanicus.—He, however, seems to say, that Sejanus had some kind of dislike to Sabinus—that those senatorial accusers first began to calumniate any one in order to please Sejanus—that the circumvented persons were sure to be punished if they said ever so little in addition to their calumnies—οἱ δ' ο, τί αν και το βραχυτατον εξω τε καθεστη-
κοτος ειπωσι κολαζονται.—Such, says Dion, was the conduct of those senatorial sycophants, not only *towards Sabinus*, the only, as Tacitus says, remaining adherent of the family of Germanicus, but *towards all other people*.

This is the account which Dion gives of this affair.—How very different is it from that of Tacitus!—Tacitus, we find, says, that Sabinus was the only person circumvented by those senators.—Dion says that he was far from being the only person—that they made a sort of trade of accusing.—Tacitus says that he was decoyed to the house of Latiaris, as being notoriously attached to the family of Germanicus, and, indeed, as being the only remaining client so attached.—Dion

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says nothing of his attachment to that family, nor of his contumelious reproaches of Sejanus and Tiberius.

But where was Sejanus while those doings were, by his instigation, transacting at Rome?—If we may believe Tacitus, he was, with Tiberius, at Capreæ, and seemingly afraid, as well as Tiberius, to consent to an interview with the Senate, &c.; and so unable to protect his few dependants, who were permitted to see him, that he could not prevent the grievous exit that awaited them.

In the year 782, says Tacitus, v. 4, Sejanus was, notwithstanding his being guarded by dogs fed with human blood, clandestinely attacked by anonymous writers—of this it is not said that he complained; but of the ill usage which his patron had received, it is said that he did complain.

In this and the next year—viz—782, 783, Dion tells us, l. 58, that the most unusual honors were bestowed on him both by Tiberius and the Senate, &c.

Sejanus then, the commander of the prætorian guards and the privy counsellor of Tiberius, was, if we may believe Tacitus, after the death of Livia, insulted, together with Tiberius, by the Senate and by the people, both openly and by libels, because, as he would have us to think, Agrippina and Nero were accused of something, not of a capital nature, though, if we may believe Paterculus, ii. 130, of a very dishonorable nature, committed a long while before the death of Livia. But how does this report agree with that of Paterculus, or with that of Dion?—Paterculus, we find, in the end of the year 783, enumerates the praises of Tiberius and of his prime minister, and speaks very disrespectfully of the conduct of Agrippina and Nero.—And Dion, we find, says l. 58, p. 622, A., that Sejanus, shortly if not immediately

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after the death of Livia, began to be still more lifted up—ο δε δη Σεϊανος επι και μαλλον ηρετο.—And, a little after, in the same page, B., he says, that the Senate decreed that his birth-day should be kept, and that an innumerable multitude of statues were erected to him, by the patri- cians, the knights, all the tribes, and the principal men.—The Senate, says he, the knights, the tribunes of the people, and the ædiles sent deputies to him, as well as to Tiberius, offered up vows for both, sacrificed to both, swore by their fortunes.—And again he says, in the next page, 623, C., that deceived and credulous people, in the year 784, erected statues of brass to them, and procured their portraits, and placed gilded chairs of state for them in the Theatre—and, that the Senate decreed that their consulship should be continued for five years—that their body should go in procession to meet them whenever they should enter the city—and that they should sacrifice to them alike.— Surely then there appears to be a no little difference between the report of Tacitus and those of Paterculus and Dion.

The last observable thing that Tacitus says of Sejanus is that he was, at last, the son-in-law of Tiberius—Non enim Sejanum Vulfiniensem, sed Claudię et Julię domus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, *tuum Cæsar generum* tui consulatus socium, tua officia in republica capef- fentem colebamus. A. vi. 8.

On a review of all that has been said concerning the rise of Sejanus it appears that he was a companion of Caius—that is, of the grandson of Augustus, of the son-in-law of Tiberius, and of the first husband of Livilla—that he was a great favorite both with Augustus and with Tiberius, and, as Dion says, l. 57, p. 616, D., because he was, in disposition, like Tiberius—that he was the rector of Drusus, whose widow, Livilla, he, just before his own fall, married, by the consent of Tiberius, obtained soon after the death of Drusus.—As then Sejanus

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was, at last, married to Livilla, by the consent of Tiberius, and, no doubt, of Antonia, her mother—let us next proceed to observe whether what Tacitus says of the murder of Drusus be so credible as he would have us to believe; and, whether any or all of the three persons, Sejanus, Livilla, and Tiberius, said to have been concerned in it, were really so or not.

CHAPTER XX.

Drusus whether poisoned?

DRUSUS is, by Tacitus, iv. 8, said to have been *long* ill—per *omnes* valetudinis ejus dies.—Indeed it appears, by what he says of him, iii. 49, that his death had been more than a year before—that is, in the end of that in which he and his father were consuls, generally expected—and by Suetonius, iii. 62, to have been thought, even by Tiberius, to have died of intemperance—what reason then have we to think that he died of poison?—Had it been suspected, at the time, would not an enquiry have been made?—The cause of the death of Germanicus, who was not invested with tribunitial authority, we are told, was, on the return of Piso, most carefully investigated by the Senate. Why then, if there was the least reason to suspect that Drusus had died by the same means, did not the Senate, who had, but the second year before, as Tacitus and Dion say, put C. Lutorius to death for only composing an epitaph on him—and who, but the year before, decreed him all and the most unusual marks of honor—who, as Tacitus

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tus says, iv. 6, still retained the privilege of discussing public and the more important private matters, and who, as Tacitus also says, iv. 9, decreed him many more funeral honors than they had decreed to Germanicus, make a similar investigation?—But, says Tacitus, iv. 10, there was, *at the same time*, a report that Tiberius himself administered the poison—and consequently, it must have been, at that time, believed that he was poisoned—sed non omiserim eorumdem temporum rumorem adeo validum, ut nondum exole scat, &c.—But does this pretended rumour agree with what Suetonius says, iii. 52?—he there says, that people of all parts sent addresses to Tiberius condoling with him on the loss of his only son; and, that the people of Ilium were so tardy in presenting their address, that Tiberius pleasantly replied to it that he also was sorry for their loss of Hector.

That Drusus then was poisoned why should we be expected to believe?—Tacitus and others, however, say, that he was poisoned.—Tacitus also says that Sejanus, after he was employed as prime-minister, contrived to get it done—that he did it, in hope of having the sole direction of public business—and that he first seduced and debauched Livilla—and that he then, though married himself, promised her marriage, and a share in the sovereignty—ad conjugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti pellexit—if she would only assist him in poisoning her own husband, and cousin, by whom she had three children. Suetonius, however, seems pretty clearly to differ from Tacitus—he seems to assert, iii. 55, that Sejanus was not employed till after the death of Drusus—for he there says of him, that he was employed not only to circumvent the sons of Germanicus, but to secure the succession for the son of Drusus—nepotemque suum ex Druso filium naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.—Now if Sejanus was really employed for this purpose, must he not have been employed after the death of Drusus.—Why then does Tacitus tell us that he was made

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prime-minister before the death of Drusus?—But, admitting that Tacitus is right, if Drusus was then so very ill, of what use was it to think of poisoning him—besides, is it at all credible that Sejanus would, as soon as he had been made prime-minister, have made such a proposal? And, at a time too when he was, in all probability, employed, because Drusus was unable to attend to the affairs of the state?—Or that Livilla would have consented to it?—Was he indeed sure that he should, by murdering Drusus, secure to himself the succession?—If so, why does Tacitus say, in the beginning of this same chapter—*Ceterum plena Cæsarum domus—nepotes adulti, &c.*;—and again, chapter 12, that he afterwards thought it necessary to set aside the sons of Germanicus—*quorum non dubia successio*?—Could Sejanus have thought that Livilla, the wife of the heir apparent Drusus, the mother of the next in succession, and the aunt of Nero, Drusus, and Caius, would have exchanged her prospect of succeeding to the empire by a legal claim, for one which was likely to be disputed?—and, at the expence of injuring the claims of her own son, and that of her brother's sons?—or, as Tacitus himself expresses it in the sequel of the same chapter—*ut pro honestis et præsentibus, flagitiosa et incerta expectaret*—and at a time too when Tiberius had done every thing praiseworthy, and nothing to offend the people—and Sejanus was but recently employed?

Tacitus afterwards says, in the same chapter, that Sejanus, before the death of Drusus, if not before his illicit connexion with Livilla, turned his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children, out of doors—and, that he did it, in order to avoid giving Livilla any suspicion—*pellit domo Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne pellici suspectaretur*.—How then could she be supposed to have known any thing of the supposed murder of Drusus?—especially as it appears, by what he

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says in the end of the same chapter, iv. 3—viz—Sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat—that the murder was not perpetrated till some time after her cruel extrusion took place?—Now after he had said this, who would have expected that he would have said that Apicata alone discovered the whole transaction?—And yet, we find, he does say so, chapter 11—Ordo alioqui sceleris per Apicatam Sejani proditus, tormentis Eudemi et Lygdi patefactus est.—And, strange to say, she did not make the murder known immediately, but, as he says, chap. 8, after an interval of eight years—id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est.—But, admitting that she was let into the secret, what reason could she have had for concealing this most atrocious deed from Tiberius, while he was the best of princes, for Tacitus himself says, that Tiberius continued such till the death of Drusus—Quæ cuncta retinebat, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum superfuit, mansere—and for informing him of it when he had ceased to be a very good prince and delighted in nothing but cruelty?—And when he had no longer an opportunity of exercising his cruelty on the principal perpetrators of so foul a murder?—If we may believe Dion, l. 58, p. 628, D., she did it in order to be revenged on Tiberius for the loss of her own children, all three of whom, as V. Maximus, we have seen, says, were, together with their father, without authority from Tiberius, trod to death by the enraged populace—or rather, perhaps, as Tacitus, we have seen, says, two were permitted to survive, till the rage of the populace had subsided, and were then, by a decree of the Senate, put to death.—Why then, as Tiberius appears to have given no order for the execution of her children, should Apicata be said to have made the discovery out of revenge to him?—If she was at all actuated by revenge why did she not make the discovery while the perpetrators of the murder were still living?—especially if they were so notoriously in-

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famous, as Dion represents them to have been;—at l. 58, p. 623, A., he says, of him, that he promised marriage to all the married ladies of Rome—and, at p. 637, A., of her, that she, no doubt, while the wife of Drusus, committed adultery not only with Sejanus, but with Scaurus, and with many other men, who, he also says, were, ten years after the death of Drusus, punished for it.

In short—that Apicata should, of all others, be alone in possession of the secret is what nobody will believe—and, that she kept the secret, under all those circumstances, for eight years, is what nobody can believe.

This is the report which Tacitus and Dion have recorded as the only authentic one.—But though this is delivered by Tacitus as the only written one that had reached his time, yet it appears, by what he afterwards says, chapter 10, that it was not the only one—he there says, that, *at the same time*, another report prevailed—and that though no writer, however adverse—*infensus*—to Tiberius, had noticed it, it was so much credited by the vulgar, that it had reached his time.—It is this—that Sejanus having preconcerted the matter with Livilla, persuaded Tiberius that Drusus had invited him to a banquet for the purpose of murdering him—that Lygdus, his eunuch, was ordered to mix the poison in the first cup called for—that Tiberius, thus apprised, ordered the cup to be delivered to his son—that Drusus, to avoid suspicion, drank it.

But could it have been possible for Sejanus, who, Tacitus acknowledges, was not a match for Tiberius in cunning, to have persuaded, so easily, the most sagacious of princes, that his only child, then in the last stage of debility, meant to invite him to a banquet merely to poison him?—Or would Tiberius, who, as Tacitus himself allows, was, at the time, only about to begin to be a bad prince, and, but the

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year before, recommended his son to the Senate as a proper person to be invested with the tribunitial authority, have listened, as Tacitus himself observes, to so absurd a story concerning his only child?—And if he would, would he have precipitately put him to death?—If it had been thought, at the time, that he had been instigated, by any one, to be the rash cause of the death of his only child, would all the different states have sent addresses of condolence to him on the occasion?—Or would they, if they had heard that some other person or persons had done it, have presented such addresses without expressing their abhorrence of the crime, and of the author?—This evidence alone of Suetonius is sufficient to render the credibility of this vulgar report not a little questionable.—But in his 61st and 62d chapters he gives a much more direct refutation of it—61st, he says, that Tiberius was, after the destruction of Sejanus, the most cruel—and, chap. 62d, that after he was informed by what means his son had been murdered he was still more cruel—that he spent whole days in the enquiry—that he put every one to the torture who were charged with being concerned in it—and, among the rest, an unfortunate Rhodian friend, who happened to call on him by invitation at the nick of time.—But, after all that has been said of this traditionary report, the other account which Tacitus gives of this matter, on the authority of former writers—viz—that it was, eight years after, discovered that Sejanus and Livilla were the perpetrators of it, is, though he does not seem to have been aware of it, a direct refutation of at least the continuance of it.—For if Tiberius, eight years after, tormented Lygdus and Eudemus, on the information of Apicata—and, as Suetonius says, spent many days together in the enquiry, and spared nobody, not even an innocent friend, how could any person, after all that, have any longer thought that he himself was guilty of it?—And yet Tacitus himself devotes a chapter to prove the tradition unfounded—thereby exposing

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the dimness of his own sagacity—and, consequently disposing people to question the credibility of his other report.—For if it was, at the time, commonly thought at Rome that Tiberius himself had poisoned his son, how must they have been surprised to hear that Sejanus and Livilla had done it?—and interested to know how the discovery was made? And when they were told that Apicata was privy to the whole affair, would they not have been more astonished, and still more so that she should, under such usage, have concealed it so long?—and when they were also told that she had not disclosed the affair to any neighbour, but to Tiberius himself, at Capreæ—and, as Dion says, l. 58, p. 628, D., by a letter, would they not be inquisitive to know by what means she contrived to send it?—And above all, when they were informed, as Dion also says, that she did it by way of revenging the loss of her children, who had been killed by those very people and by the Senate, and that she had destroyed herself immediately, would they not have been inclined to pity her as insane?—And if the roman people thought so of her, would not the most sagacious Tiberius?—Is this then a story fit to be recorded by an impartial historian?—Is it not rather such an one as none but the calumniating scriblers, mentioned by Tacitus, iv. 11, would have noticed?

Having now discovered that it would be absurd to suppose that such a report could have prevailed after the torturing of Lygdus, &c. and the innocent Rhodian.—Let us next proceed to enquire how far it is likely that it could have prevailed prior to the discovery.

Paterculus, we find, observed to M. Vinicius how Tiberius grieved for the loss of his only son.—*Ut ad majora transcendam quanquam et hæc ille duxit maxima: quid ut juvenes amitteret filios? quid ut nepotem ex Druso suo? Dolenda adhuc retulimus: veniendum ad erubescenda est, &c.*—Now if Tiberius had, in the 16th year of his reign,

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been thought to have been accessory to the death of his only son, would Paterculus have written thus to M. Vinicius, who probably was, at the time, about to form a family connexion with Julia the daughter of Germanicus?

Josephus also says, *A.* xxiii. 7, *α.*, how much Tiberius felt for the loss of his only son. He gives us to understand that he was, for some time, inconsolable on that account. He tells us that he could not suffer any of his intimates in his sight—that Agrippa, the most intimate, was, on that account, obliged to leave Italy;—and again—*δ*—Josephus says, how heartily he welcomed Agrippa, on his return to Puteoli, to Capreæ, as the acquaintance of his son.

Suetonius, in several places, says enough to convince us that he either never heard of this report or considered it as too absurd to be noticed—chap. 39, he says—*Sed orbatus utroque filio: quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romæ obierat: secessum Campaniæ petiit:*—chap. 52, he says, that Tiberius did not love Drusus with a fatherly affection,* and why—because he was displeased at his vicious conduct—*Alterius vitiis infensus*—chap. 54, that he was deprived of his children by death—*destitutus morte liberorum*—chap. 55, he says, that Tiberius employed Sejanus in order to secure the succession for his grandson—*nepotemque suum ex Druso filium naturalem ad successionem Imperii confirmaret.* He also says, 62, that he thought Drusus died by a disorder caused by intemperance, and that when, at last, he was informed that he died by poison, and that Sejanus and Livilla, then both dead, had administered it to him, he put every person suspected to have been an accomplice to the torture, and, by chance, an unsuspected Rhodian visitor, who happened to come in while the in-

* Dion says, l. 57, p. 618, B., *καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, ὅτε καὶ μόνῳ καὶ γνησίῳ ὄντι, προσε-
κείτω.*

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quiry was on foot. Consequently, it appears, by this evidence of Suetonius, that Tiberius was never suspected to have been the cause of the death of his own son.

Dion too says, l. 57, p. 610, D., that Tiberius used frequently to reprove Drusus, both publicly and privately, for his petulance and cruelty—and, that he once said to him—you shall not do so, young man, as long as I live, nor, if I can prevent it, after I am gone—and though he acknowledges, p. 618, A. B., that Tiberius was, by some, thought to have been the voluntary cause of the death of his only son—and, because he seems to have taken so little notice of it. But, continues Dion, that he was so I cannot believe—*ο μεντοι πισος ο λογος*—because he behaved in the same manner towards every one of his departed friends—because he loved exceedingly his only son—and because he punished severely all those who were afterwards found to have been concerned in the murder—some immediately, some afterward—*της μεν ευθως, της δε μετα ταυτα εκολασε.*

Indeed that Tiberius should, in the 65th year of his age and the 9th of his reign, when, as Tacitus says, he began to be no longer a very excellent prince—and still gave, as Tacitus further says, chapter 11, proofs of his impartial administration of justice, and was, as he also says, so dilatory in punishing all other offences, have been so precipitate as to poison his only son, who had never offended him—infitâ denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et morâ, adversum unicum, et nullius ante flagitii compertum uteretur—and but a few months after he had obtained for him the tribunitial authority, is what nobody, as Tacitus acknowledges, iv. 11, can suppose.

But what proof have we that Livilla was known to have been concerned in the murder of her husband?—Had she been proved an ac-

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cessary, may we not expect to find some mark of infamy fixed on her memory?—as, we find, Tacitus says, A. xi. 38, the Senate afterwards affixed on that of the infamous Messalina?—*Juvitque oblivionem ejus senatus, censendo nomen et effigies privatis ac publicis locis demovendas.*

In the beginning of the year after the death of Sejanus—that is, about two or three months after his death, says Tacitus, vi. 2, the Senate made some very severe reflections on the effigies and memory of Livilla, as if her flagitious practices had lately been detected, and had not for a long while been punished—*At Romæ principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae flagitiis, ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiæ dicebantur in effigies ac memoriam ejus.*—By this it appears that Livilla died not long before, but whether before or after the death of Sejanus it is not said—(certainly before the death of Apicata, and, if Dion's report be true, before those of the two surviving children of Sejanus,) and, that when she died the usual respects were paid to her memory, as if she was neither suspected of the death of Drusus, nor of those numerous adulteries for which so many, as Dion says, were afterwards punished. Soon after, indeed, her scandalous practices and her murder was known—yet they do not appear to have been noticed by Tiberius, though so exasperated against all her accomplices, for he still permitted her effigies to remain. But though Tiberius did not notice her infamous conduct, yet the Senate, it seems, did. And why?—Did they attempt to prove the illegitimacy of the young Tiberius?—And for the purpose of excluding him from the succession?—For it seems her flagitious practices had been committed a long while before, and she was not married long enough to Sejanus to have had any issue by him. But whatever they may have thought of the legitimacy of the young Tiberius, yet Tiberius himself, it seems, both by what Suetonius, iii. 55, and Tacitus, vi. 46, say, had no doubt

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of it. For Suetonius there says that he did not make choice of Sejanus as his minister because he liked him, but because he meant to use him as his tool to circumvent the family of Germanicus, and to secure the succession for Tiberius, the son of Livilla—and Tacitus, speaking of his grandson and grandson by adoption, says—of whom the son of Drusus, was by blood and natural affection nearer, though still a lad—*quorum Druso genitus, sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus*—and in the sequel, he says, of Tiberius, that he embraced his grandson, and, with a flood of tears, said to Caius—*thou wilt murder my dear child—and another will murder thee—Occides hunc tu, inquit, et te alius.*

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the cause of the fall of Sejanus.

V. MAXIMUS, who wrote within fix years after the fall of Sejanus, and dedicated his work to Tiberius, informs us, ix. 11, that Sejanus had formed a plot to seize the reins of government.—Tu videlicet efferatæ barbariæ immanitate truculentior habenas R. imperii, quas princeps parensque noster salutari dextrâ continet, capere potuisti?—He also says that he intended to cause such distress *at Rome*, in particular, as had never been experienced in that city—that all the Gods were interested in the discovery of it—that Tiberius, *by divine monition*, foresaw—divino consilio providet—the danger which threatened his most excellent services all the world over. And he also adds, that it was no sooner known at Rome, that Tiberius had detected the perfidy of the treacherous minister of the author and defence of their safety, than all ranks of people, in that city, immediately flew to crush him. And, lastly, that they trod not only on him, but on his whole family. V. Maximus also adds, that no sooner was Sejanus dead, than the same happy state of public affairs was again restored—Itaque stat pax, valent leges, sincerus privati ac publici officii tenor servatur.

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This is the account which V. Maximus, an eye witness of the transaction, gave, in a work dedicated to Tiberius himself, of the fall of this prime-minister. An account which plainly intimates that Sejanus meant to assume power which belonged to Tiberius, that Maximus thought the Gods were concerned in the discovery—that the people of Rome ought to be very thankful for it—that they considered Tiberius as the best of princes, if not that they were much prejudiced against Sejanus—and which seems to intimate that he fell, not by a formal process, but under the fury of an enraged populace, and that none fell with him but his own children—and therefore seems to exculpate Tiberius, who was then at Capreæ, from the imputation that he contrived the destruction of his family.

Seneca, another writer who lived at the time, says—*de tranq. vitæ* cap. 11—that the Senate arrested him—that, *on the same day*, the people tore him to pieces—that *the Gods were witnesses*—and that *there was not enough of him left for the hangman to draw through the streets.*—*Quo die illum senatus deduxerat, populus in frustra divisit, in quem quicquid congeri poterat, dii hominesque contulerant, ex eo nihil superfuit quod carnifex traheret, &c.*

The account of Seneca, we find, "pretty nearly agrees with that of V. Maximus.

Let us next hear what Philo, a jewish cotemporary, says of the death of this prime-minister.

Philo, in his account of his Leg. to Caius, p. 785, F., says, that Sejanus had, with much contrivance, formed a plot to introduce some new scheme or *imposition*—*ἡνικα Σεϊανος εσκευρατει την επιθεσιν.*—And how does he say Sejanus hoped to effect this deep laid plot?—scil—by accusing the Jews of Rome falsely, as he says—and by seeking the de-

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struction of *that nation*—το εθνος—that is, as he says in the beginning of his work against Flaccus, the *whole nation*—συμπαν το εθνος.—And why did he seek the destruction of the Jews?—Because he was persuaded that they would be *the only or chief protectors of the emperor when his life was in danger by the disaffected*. And this, it seems, by what Philo had immediately before said, the Jews would, in all probability, have become—for he there not only says that the people every where, even *those not well affected to the Jews, were not in haste to assist any one in the heretical abolition of their legal rites*—εὐλαβείς εἶχον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσιν τινος τῶν Ἰεδαϊκῶν νομιμῶν προσαΐεσθαι—he also says that the same indulgence was continued under Tiberius, though they of Italy were in commotion when Sejanus contrived the imposition. If then the Jews had, as Philo says, been always tolerated by Tiberius in the exercise of their religious singularities, (and that they were so both Agrippa and Tacitus say,) no wonder that they were so much attached to Tiberius—and, that Sejanus was so much afraid of them.

This is pretty nearly the sum of what Philo offers on this mysterious point. By which it appears that Sejanus meditated a revolution or imposition of some kind—and that he, by way of accomplishing his purpose, thought it necessary to destroy not the Jews of Rome only, but the *whole nation* of the Jews, (which, Philo himself allows, was then not only tolerated but respected every where,) beginning with those of Rome and Italy, as being better affected to Tiberius than any other people, even than Romans. Under what pretence he hoped to obtain permission of his sovereign, who, it seems, was ever fond of the Jews and of their religion, to do it, Philo does not say.

Having now heard what those three cotemporaries say of the cause of the fall of Sejanus—let us attend to what four or five later writers say of it.—And first let us hear what Josephus says of it.

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Josephus affirms, A. xviii. 7, ε., that Sejanus entered into a great conspiracy against his sovereign, whom he represents, 7, θ., as a sort of minor prophet—or, a foreteller of future events—επιβελης γαρ μεγαλης συζασης επ' αυτον υπο Σηιανθ—he also says that most of the *senators* and *freedmen* conspired with him—and that the army was corrupted—και την βελης οι πολλοι και των απελυθερων προσεθεντο, και το στρατιωτικον διεφθαρτο. This conspiracy, he adds, Antonia, the mother of Livilla, discovered. And in the next chapter—viz—8, β., Josephus also says, that Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, was, by Agrippa, accused to Caius, of having been privy to the plot of Sejanus.—Lastly, he says, B. ii. 9, ε., that Agrippa had before gone to Tiberius to accuse Herod, of, no doubt, disaffection, and that Tiberius paid no attention to him. Indeed so far does he, by what Josephus says, A., seem to have been from believing any report of this kind, that he, in the year following, sent Vitellius to assist Herod against Aretas.

Josephus then, we find, is another witness that Sejanus conspired against Tiberius—and with most of the senators and freedmen, or libertines. He also says, that the army in general were corrupted. But that the Jews were then remarkably attached to Tiberius, and, that they were, on that account, at the instigation of Sejanus, expelled from Rome, he does not say. On the contrary, he seems to say, that those of Galilee were so hostile to Tiberius as to have sided with Sejanus. Besides he does not seem to agree with Philo as to the time when they were expelled, by introducing his account of it immediately after that of the death of our Lord. In the 3d §. he gives an account of the death and revival of our Lord, and the 4th §. he begins with those words—Και υπο της αυτης χρονος—and ends with κατα τειτον χρονον—where he proposes to speak of the expulsion of his countrymen. Moreover, he says, that the consuls not only sent 4,000 enlisted, and therefore

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libertine Jews, to Sardinia, an imperial province—but that they punished others for refusing, in obedience to Moses, to enlist. Now the consuls, in the beginning of the year in which Sejanus perished, were Tiberius and Sejanus, and their *suffecti*, when he fell, were Regulus and Trio, of whom the former was, as Tacitus and Dion say, in the interest of Tiberius, and the latter in the interest of Sejanus.—Lastly, in his account of the expulsion of the Jews, he neither intimates that the conspiracy of Sejanus then took place—nor, in his account of the conspiracy of Sejanus, does he intimate that Sejanus had any thing to do with the expulsion of the Jews—on the contrary, he says, that Saturninus, a consular man, complained to Tiberius of the misconduct of three or four vagabond Jews, who pretended to be Rabbies, towards Fulvia, his wife, who, it seems, was a proselyte, and by that means only procured the expulsion of all the Jews from Rome.

Josephus then, we find, appears to have contradicted all his predecessors not a little—the two Roman writers, by saying, that Antonia discovered the conspiracy—and his own countryman, in every other particular.

Let us next hear what Juvenal says was the cause of his fall.

Juvenal, who it may not be amiss to observe, appears to have been born within a very few years after the death of Tiberius, in his xth satire, speaks of the vast power and of the unexpected fall of Sejanus. His fall he seems to attribute to treasonable practices, for he speaks of him as the enemy of Cæsar—Cæsar's hostem—and as having fought the extinction of the secure old age of the prince—*si oppressa foret secura senectus Principis*. He also describes the very different behavior of the Roman populace towards him, just before and after it took place. Just before his fall, he says, every body worshipped him, but

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no sooner was he executed, and his *body drawn by the executioner*, than all rejoiced at it, and hastened to insult his dead body, *as it lay on the bank of the Tyber*, and even without knowing the cause of his fall—for, at v. 68, &c. he represents an inhabitant of Rome as expressing the inveteracy of his dislike to him while living, and as questioning his neighbour concerning the cause &c. of his unexpected death—and, at v. 71, he represents the neighbour as incapable of giving him any other satisfactory information on the point, but that a long epistle had arrived from the secure emperor, surrounded by a set of Chaldeans at Capræ.

By this testimony of Juvenal it appears that he took it for granted, though it was not publicly known at Rome a little after he fell what was the nature of his offence, that it was of a treasonable nature—that it was understood at Rome that a prolix epistle of Tiberius to the Senate was the cause of his death—and, that his body, after having been dragged by the executioner through the streets of Rome, lay on the bank of the Tyber, where it was insulted by the populace. By this it also appears that Tiberius would not take any step against Sejanus before he had apprised the Senate of his misconduct.

Juvenal afterwards adds—*Perituros audio multos*—by which he seems to intimate that Sejanus fell alone. He also seems to say that the people were almost afraid to converse with each other on the subject.

Hi sermones

Tunc de Sejano: secreta hæc murmura vulgi.

Let us now hear what Suetonius says of this affair:

He affirms, iii. 65, that Sejanus, who, he says, was one of the twenty privy counsellors of Tiberius, had entered into a conspiracy

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with *others* to effect a revolution. Who those accomplices were—and, by what means he intended to accomplish his nefarious purpose, Suetonius does not say here. But, in his life of Caius, chap. 30, he seems to say that most of the Senate were privy to it—for he there says that Caius used often to inveigh against all the senators alike, as having been the clients of Sejanus; and the accusers of his mother and brethren—*Sæpe in cunctos pariter senatores, ut Sejani clientes, aut—matris ac fratrum suorum delatores invehctus est.* And, in the life of Vitellius, chapter 2, he says, that P. Vitellius, after he had discharged the prætorship, was apprehended as a conspirator with Sejanus. The time when Tiberius suspected him, he says, was just after the death of Livia, and just before his own last consulate—for Tiberius, he says, saw that his birth-day was kept publicly—and Dion says, l. 58, p. 622, A., that the Senate, after the death of Livia, made a decree for that purpose. And the time when he began to contrive his destruction (for such, it seems, was the power of his minister, and such his own dread of tumults, that he could not do it speedily) was just before his last consulate. The manner in which he accomplished his destruction he proceeds next to describe, and prefaces it with this observation—viz—that he did not do it by any princely means, but by craft and subtilty—*astu magis ac dolo, quam principis majestate*—for, first, he, subjoins Suetonius, diffident and apprehensive of tumults as he was, instead of seizing him, dismissed him from Capræ to Rome, where most of the other conspirators, it seems, were—and, in order to make him his colleague in the consulship. Having succeeded in this, he next gave him cause to hope to be allied to the royal family, (as, by the account of Tacitus, iv. 40, he had done several years before,) which alliance, appears, by what Tacitus says, vi. 8, of the speech of M. Terentius to the Senate, when he was accused of having been intimate with Sejanus, actually took place—*Non enim Sejanum Vulfiniensem, sed Clau-*

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diæ et Juliæ domus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, *tuum Cæsar generum*, tui consulatus focium, tua officia in republicâ capeffentem colabamus—he also gave him reason to expect the tribunitial authority. And after having done all this, he unexpectedly criminated him in a paltry wretched epistle to that very Senate, who, as Caius used often to say, were all the creatures of Sejanus—and who, as Josephus says, were mostly conspirators with him—who, as Tacitus says, considered him as the only way to preferment—and who, as Dion says, had made a decree that his birth-day should be publicly kept, and had been in the habit of paying him all sorts of honors, not excepting even divine. And in the same epistle, he, adds Suetonius, desired the fathers to send one of the consuls, and without naming him, (though Regulus only was his friend,) with a guard to conduct him, a solitary old man, into their presence, when, at the very time, he had, says Suetonius, made preparations for quitting the country, and had used means to procure the earliest information concerning the success of his epistle.

By this account of Suetonius, it appears that Sejanus, after the death of Livia, meditated, with certain leading men of Rome, a revolution—that Tiberius suspected it while Sejanus was at Capreæ with him—that is, just before they were colleagues in the consulship—that Tiberius, crafty and fearful as he was, did not detain him at Capreæ, but dismissed him to Rome—that he then first made him his consul, and then again gave him reason to expect to be allied to the imperial family, and to be invested with the tribunitial authority, and, if we may believe Tacitus, actually fulfilled his intimation by making him his son-in-law—that he did not attempt to destroy him till nearly eight months after he suspected him, for Sejanus was not put to death till the middle of October, at which time Trio and Regulus were consuls—that he then did it, not by his imperial power, but by writing to the

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Senate, who, Suetonius himself, as well as others, acknowledges, were mostly the adherents of Sejanus. And, lastly, that Tiberius, diffident, fearful of tumults, ready to leave the country, and unwilling to leave Capreæ, as he was, (for, he says, he did not move out of the village in which he resided for nine months after,*) with much craftiness and subtilty, requested to be conducted, by one of the consuls and a guard of soldiers, from Capreæ to the Senate house.†

Suetonius, it should be observed, had before, chapter 48, said that the prætorian guards remained all the while firmly attached to Tiberius, and that he handsomely rewarded them for their fidelity—*præterquam singula millia denariorum prætorianis, quod se Sejano non accommodassent*. He also says, immediately after, in the same chapter, that he rewarded the legions in Syria for having refused to erect the standard of Sejanus. And, to his account of the manner in which he accomplished the destruction of Sejanus, he has subjoined what looks like a proof that most, if not all the legions of Italy, were firmly attached to him—*Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascunque legiones meditabatur fugam*. If then Tiberius was so well served by his life-guards, and by most of the legions both in Italy and out of it, and was so fearful of tumults, and so apprehensive about the result, as to think of flying himself, and of leaving Drusus to dispute the sovereignty with his new uncle Sejanus, why should he be supposed to have acted so imprudently as to send Sejanus to Rome?—And then to have heaped

* *Verum et oppressâ conjuratione Sejani, nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villâ quæ vocatur Jovis.*

† *Tiberius tamen ludibria seriis permiscere solitus egit gratias benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse? quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos, an juvenes? privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore, sumentium in limine curiæ gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. T. Ann. vi. 2.*

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such honors on him?—Or, to have criminated him to the Senate, by an epistle?—Or, to have requested the Senate to send a guard to conduct his aged self from Capreæ to the Senate?

Such is the unsatisfactory account which Suetonius has given of this affair.

Let us now hear what Tacitus says of it:

The account which Tacitus gave in his v. book, where he treats of the transactions of the year in which Tiberius and Sejanus were consuls, of the cause of the fall of Sejanus, is unfortunately lost—but though this is lost, yet he appears to have said enough in his iv. v. and vi. books to convince us that Sejanus was accused of conspiring either against the state, or against his sovereign. But of whatever he was accused, it seems, by what he says, A. iv. 1, *his fall was as detrimental to the welfare of Rome as his prosperity had been—cujus pari exitio floruit, ceciditque.*

In the iv. 3, he says of him, that he, to make way for his treacherous design, contrived, nine years before, the death of Drusus—and that he enticed Livilla, the wife of Drusus and the daughter of Antonia, by the hope of becoming his wife and a partner of the sovereignty, to second his murderous design—*ad conjugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti impulit.* And though Tacitus would have it thought that Sejanus murdered Drusus to secure the government, yet he says, iv. 59, that he gave the most unquestionable proof of his regard for Tiberius, by saving his life at the hazard of his own. But what?—Could Sejanus have thought, that Livilla, the wife of the heir-apparent Drusus, the mother of the twin sons, and the aunt of Drusus, Nero, and Caius, would have exchanged her great prospect of becoming the mother of the emperor for so dishonorable a mode of proceeding—or,

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as Tacitus says, iv. 3—ut pro honestis et præsentibus, flagitiosa et incerta expectaret—and at the expence of injuring the claims of her own sons and that of her nephews?—This, if we may believe Tacitus, he did—but could not make good his promise, because Tiberius would not give his consent. And though he was, as Tacitus says, iv. 39, mad for women; and Livilla too, as he says, iv. 29, committed adultery in her widowhood; and though he had, as he also says, persuaded Tiberius to retire from the fatigues of government to Capreæ, under an expectation that he should have the aged monarch in his power, yet he never made the least attempt to cut him off for four or five years.

In the v. 8, Tacitus says, that P. Vitellius, the paymaster of the forces, was, before the expiration of the year in which Sejanus suffered, accused, *before the Senate*, of having not only encouraged revolutionary projects—or, as Suetonius says, vii. 2, of having been a conspirator with Sejanus—inter Sejani conscios—but of having embezzled the military treasure, and even of having applied it to support innovation. If he was guilty of peculation it might be easily made to appear, and he deserved to be duly punished for it. And if he applied the public money to the worst of purposes he deserved to be severely punished. What then was his punishment?—He was, say both Tacitus and Suetonius, placed in the custody of *his brother*! But was the Senate the proper body to take cognizance of this offence?—Of infidiæ in republicam—they, no doubt, were. But were they so of matters relating to the military?—Does not Tacitus say, vi. 3, that Tiberius was violently angry with Junius Gallio for making, in the beginning of the year following, a motion respecting a new privilege for the discharged life-guards, and imperiously demanding of him, as if present—quid illi cum militibus—and as acting like a satellite of Sejanus?

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In the 9th, he says, that the Senate, after the death of Sejanus, and when the popular fury had subsided, and most people were satisfied, proceeded against the *rest* of his children—*placitum posthac ut in reliquos Sejani liberos adverteretur*. Now as he had before apprised us, iv. 3, that Sejanus had three children only by Apicata, one only can have been put to death with Sejanus.

In the 11th chapter, he says, that the two consuls, Regulus and Trio, who had been at variance a long while, became, before the end of the year in which Sejanus fell, publicly hostile. Trio, in the Senate house, reflected on Regulus for having been backward in opposing the tools of Sejanus—*ut fegnem Regulum ad opprimendos Sejani ministros*. Regulus repelled the charge, and accused Trio of having been an accomplice in the conspiracy—*ut noxium conjurationis*.

In the vi. book, he informs us how the effects of Sejanus were disposed of; and then, in several places, of the trials of those who had been either his associates or accomplices; and then, in one or two, of the punishments of some of them.

In chapter 2, he informs us that the effects of Sejanus had originally been deposited in the treasury—that Tiberius had caused them to be taken from thence as confiscated—and that, a month or two after the death of Sejanus, a strong party in the Senate contended that the forfeited effects ought to be returned to the treasury—*et bona Sejani ablata ærario, ut in fiscum cogerentur tanquam referret*.

Chapter 8, he represents M. Terentius, who was accused, before the Senate, of intimacy with Sejanus, as making a distinction between those who had been privy to his *recent* plot—and those who had only sought his patronage—and as exculpating the latter, by the observation that Tiberius had himself, in a manner, sanctioned the practice,

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by the very great honors which he had conferred on him—viz—by first making him joint commander with his father of the life-guards—then præfect both of the city and the army—then his colleague in the consulship—and, lastly, by permitting him to become, by marriage, a part of both the Claudian and Julian families, and his own son-in-law—and even his deputy in the management of public business. And again he represents him as making the same distinction in the conclusion of his speech as he had before made—viz—let plots against the state, or against the life of the emperor, be punished as they ought, but as for society with any friend of Cæsar let it not be blamed.

Chapter 9, he says, that the fathers were all unanimous in acquitting him—and, moreover, that they were also unanimous in sentencing his accusers, for this and other things, *either to be put to death or to be banished*.

In the 19th chapter, he says, that Tiberius, in the course of the year following—viz—the second after the death of Sejanus, ordered all those that were imprisoned for associating with Sejanus to be put to death—*irritatusque suppliciiis cunctos qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Sejano, necari jubet*. Of whom, it seems, by what follows, there was no small number of *every* sex, age, and condition.* *Jacuit immensa strages: omnis sexus, omnis ætas; inlustres, ignobiles, &c.* But were people of both sexes, of every age and of ignoble condition, admitted to be *conspirators* with Sejanus?—Or, were they merely *associates* with him?—If they were partisans in the conspiracy could Sejanus have contrived to keep his treasonable purpose a secret?—Would he have thought that women and boys, and people of no rank or character, would be fit to be entrusted with so important a secret?

* If so many persons were conspirators with Sejanus, how is it that V. M. and S. tell us that the people tore him in pieces?

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Or, rather, would he, after having been so exceedingly fastidious as Tacitus represents him to have been, iv. 74, in the year 14, have condescended, in the year 17, when he had been exalted to the acme of his wishes, and Tiberius was nearly in the 80th year of his age, to associate with such persons?—And if they were not conspirators, but only humble expectants, why were they, after the acquittal of Terentius, and the condemnation of his accusers to deaths and to banishments, detained in prison?—And, the year after, barbarously murdered for it—and by Tiberius?—Did he not spare this same Terentius?—Did he not approve the decree of the Senate concerning the sentence of the accusers?—And was he not greatly applauded for it?—And not only for that, but for having ordered all the accusers to be put to death in one day?—Dion, we know, speaking of the accusation of this same Terentius, and of the sentence pronounced on him, and them, by the Senate, says, l. 58, p. 633, D.—οἰς καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος συγκατέθετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ηὐνείτο.—And of the carnage which Tiberius caused to be made immediately after the death of Sejanus, he says—“but amidst all this so great cruelty, he (Tiberius) seemed to be possessed of some *philanthropy*—ἐδόξε τι καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι.”—And wherein?—scil—In sparing Cassianus, Lucius Sejanus, the prætor, (who, he observes, had caused the infirmity of his age to be exposed both on the stage and in the streets of Rome,) and Marcus Terentius. And again, speaking of the accusers of Terentius and of the sentence pronounced on them by the Senate, he says—καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος συγκατέθετο σφίσι—for which, subjoins he, he was applauded—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ηὐνείτο—and, continues he, he was much more applauded, for having caused all the foremost accusers to be put to death in one day—καὶ μάλιστα οὗτις τῆς ἐπιβουλοτάτης τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας ποιημένων ἀποθανεῖν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσεν—to which execution Tacitus seems to allude vi. 30.

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Chapter 23, Tacitus says, as Suetonius also does, that Tiberius gave Macro orders that if Sejanus should have recourse to arms, he should liberate Drusus, the nephew of his wife Livilla, and set him over the people.

Lastly, chap. 30, Tacitus says, that Lentulus Gætulicus, the commander of the army in Upper Germany, was, about the beginning of the 22d year of Tiberius, accused by Albudius, (one of the accusers of Livilla,) his once legionary præfect and past ædile, of having formed a family connexion with Sejanus. To this charge he is said to have replied by letter to Tiberius, pretty nearly as Terentius did to the Senate. The result, says Tacitus, was, that Tiberius took no notice of it, but continued on the same terms of intimacy with him as before, and even banished Albudius from the city.

The sum of what we learn, from detached passages of Tacitus, concerning the fall of Sejanus, seems to be nearly this—that Sejanus, after he had put away his wife, by whom he had three children, persuaded Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, and the wife of Drusus, the prince regent, to be an accessory to the death of her husband, in hope of marrying Sejanus, and of partaking with him in the government—that he, four years after, at the risque of his own life, preserved that of Tiberius—that he, by the consent of Tiberius, eight years after, and just before his fall, married her—that he was then possessed of all power, and Tiberius in his 74th year—that he was thought to have contrived the death of Tiberius—that he, though intolerably proud, conspired with all sorts of persons for that purpose—that he was put to death for it, with one of his children, but whether with or without trial he does not say—that two of his children were, before the end of the year, also put to death for it—that none of his accomplices, if he had any, were put to death with him—that the chief of his accom-

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plices was not punished—that his effects were first deposited in the treasury and then confiscated—that, in the second year after, an immense number of persons, of all sorts, were put to death for it—and, lastly, that L.* Gætulicus was, four years after, charged with having betrothed his daughter to a son of Sejanus.

Having now collected all that Tacitus says of the offence of Sejanus, for which he fell, let us next proceed to observe whether he says Livilla was an accomplice with him in it.

If Livilla was, as Tacitus says, induced, by the hope of marrying Sejanus and of sharing the government with him, to assist in the murder of the heir-apparent, may we not expect that she was also concerned in this plot against her aged uncle and father-in-law?—Of her having been concerned in it Tacitus (though he says, vi. 2, that she died about the same time,) does not say. Indeed, by his silence concerning the disposition of her property, and his report concerning that of Sejanus, (for had she conspired with Sejanus would not her property have been confiscated as well as his?) may we not almost conclude that she knew nothing of his design?—But we are not confined to negative proof, for it appears by what he there says of her—viz—that effigies of her were still existing—that she could not have been concerned in it—for surely no effigies of her would have been permitted to remain, if she had been put to death for high-treason. It also appears that certain mal-practices, in which she had been engaged, had been discovered since her death, and that, as she could not be then punished for those practices, severe reflections were made on those

* Query—May not this Lentulus have been the same person as Dion speaks of as having been a conspirator with Sejanus—*ως επιβλευσάμενος*—against Tiberius?

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effigies which were intended to perpetuate her memory. What those mal-practices were, which came to light after her death, may be collected from what he again says of her, vi. 29—viz—that Mamercus Scaurus was, more than two years after, charged with having committed adultery with her; and with having frequented, with her too, no doubt, the sacred rites of the Magi. Though of adultery, with any one, before the death of her husband Drusus, Tiberius himself, by the report of Tacitus, iv. and vi. 46, clearly acquitted her. Now if these were her only offences she appears to have had nothing to do with the treason of Sejanus.

But does it not appear still more evident that she was no way concerned in it, by what Josephus and Dion say of her mother Antonia, and Suetonius of her brother Claudius?—The two first mentioned say that Antonia discovered the treachery of Sejanus, and the last, that Claudius was deputed by the knights to congratulate on the occasion? But of this more hereafter.

Dion, who says, p. 628, that Apicata, indignant at seeing the bodies of her children, whom, he says, Tiberius had caused to be put to death, first informed him that his son had been poisoned by Sejanus and Livilla, it may not be amiss to observe, also says, in the same page, that Livilla was alive after the discovery of the murder—that Tiberius, who, as Suetonius says, iii. 62, would afterwards spare nobody, and was convinced that his grandson was illegitimate, would have forgiven her, but that Antonia, her own mother, who, as V. Maximus and others say, was a most exemplary woman, opposed it. Dion further says of Livilla, that she starved herself.

Let us, in the last place, hear what Dion says of the greatness and fall of Sejanus.

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Of the vast power of Sejanus, Dion says, l. 57, p. 617, C., that the consuls and—*ελλογισμοι*—eminent men, used, before the death of Drusus, to wait on him, at day-break, and then used to lay before him the petitions which they meant to present to Tiberius for themselves—and, to communicate with him the common things about which Tiberius *ought* to give responses. And again, in the same page, he says, that Sejanus, not content with all this power, determined on the death of Drusus, in hope that he should get the entire control of his aged fire. So great indeed, he says, l. 57, p. 619, B., was his power, that Cremutius Cordus was compelled to lay hands on himself merely because *he had offended him*—*οτι τω Σειανω προσεχρησεν*.—Tacitus says, iv. 14, that two of his clients accused Cordus. And, l. 58, p. 622, A., he says, that even the Senate, after the death of Livia, made a decree that his birth-day should be kept—and that they and all the rest of the Romans erected an unusual number of statues to him—that they sent deputies to him as well as to Tiberius—that they offered up vows for his prosperity as well as for Tiberius—and that they sacrificed to both, and swore by their fortunes.

All this Dion says of the omnipotence of Sejanus, as if it was obtained by universal consent.

Again, l. 58, p. 623, B., he says, that Tiberius knowing—*μαθων*—that the *Senate and others* looked up to Sejanus as emperor, and down upon himself as nobody, was afraid that they would make him emperor—and then goes on to say that Sejanus entirely won over to him *all the body guards, and most of the senators*, and that he, moreover, had the address so to please those about Tiberius, as to bring himself acquainted with every thing said or done at Capreæ, and to keep Tiberius, though, as both Tacitus, iv. 1, xi. 3, and Suetonius says, an overmatch for him in craftiness, in ignorance of every thing done at Rome:

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And what step does he say Tiberius then took?—scil—He, notwithstanding he was afraid the Senate would make him emperor, made him consul, and called him the partaker of his cares, and, in his letters to the Senate and to the people, “my Sejanus.”—Wherefore, continues he, the deceived and believers—*παταμένους καὶ πιστεύοντες*—affixed everywhere tables of brass inscribed with their joint names, and placed in the Theatres gilded chairs of state for both of them. The Senate too, he says, decreed them a quinquennial consulship, and offered sacrifices to the statues of Sejanus as well as to those of Tiberius, though, as Dion himself had previously said, he had before published an edict forbidding any one to worship him.

Dion next goes on to say, that Sejanus, notwithstanding all this affectation of popularity, caused *many of the nobles* to be put to death, and among them Caius Rufus Geminius, by accusing him of *impiety to Tiberius* before the Senate—an offence, of which, he had before said himself, Tiberius took no notice. Rufus, says he, was tried for it, and, before sentence was passed, retired to his own house, and when the quæstor arrived to tell him his doom, he destroyed himself. Publica Prisca, the wife of Rufus, says he, was also accused before the Senate of something, and by Sejanus, no doubt, though he had, as Dion elsewhere observes, promised marriage to all the married ladies of Rome. The result was that she too destroyed herself, and in the very Senate-house.

In the next page—viz—l. 58, p. 623, E., Dion says, that Sejanus was so great in his own conceit and in the plenitude of his power that he appeared like an autocrat, while Tiberius appeared like the governor of an insignificant island—that he was even attended by the body guards—*δορυφόροι*—when he went to the Capitol. And, in the next page, l. 58, 624, D., he says, that the overdoers—*καταχορείς*—even swore by

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his fortune—*την τε τυχην αὐτῶ κατακορῆς ὠμνῶσαν*—and addressed him not only as colleague to Tiberius in the consulship, but as his equal in all power.

Having thus described his power as increasing till the year when he was consul, and as being then unlimited, Dion next proceeds to describe his rapid fall. He says, p. 624, D., that if any God had, in the beginning of the year in which Tiberius and Sejanus were consuls, foretold what was to happen before the end of that year, nobody would have believed it.* Early in that year, continues Dion, Tiberius, who (and it deserves to be particularly noticed as being rather contradictory to what he had before said in the page immediately preceding B.) *could not be kept in ignorance of any thing about him*—*Τιβέριος δὲ ἐγνοῶν* *λέν ἔδειν ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτόν*—perceiving in what estimation his minister was held by the people, determined to cut him off. But if, as Dion himself says, he had caused him to be so esteemed, why should he have determined to cut him off for being so esteemed?—And how could he have hoped to accomplish his purpose?—In the same page, E., he says, that Tiberius being aware that he could not venture to do it openly, contrived to do it in such a manner as astonished every body, not excepting Sejanus. And then, in the remainder of the same page, he proceeds to point out the steps which Tiberius took in order to lessen the public opinion of the great power of his consular colleague, and which, he says, were effectual. The popular opinion of his potentiality being thus lessened, it was, shortly after, considerably more so, by observing a prodigy or two, which happened to certain statues of Sejanus, which were the objects of adoration.

* Suetonius says, iii. 65, that Tiberius, before he entered his 7. consulate, knew that Sejanus was meditating a revolution.

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Tiberius having, in consequence of what he had observed, taken those steps, and being confident of the assistance of the Senate (though it was, as both Josephus and Dion say, devoted, by favors received, to Sejanus) and of the people, assailed him—μαθων ταυτα ο Τιβεριος, και θαρσησας ως και τον δημον και την βελην συμμαχος εξειν, επίχειρησεν αυτω—p. 626, B. C.—And how did he contrive to do it?—Did he send an officer with a company of armed men to secure him in his own house? Far, very far from it.—For though Laco, the captain of the night watch, met him, *as soon as it was day*, on the way to the Senate, yet he, says Dion, did not apprehend him, but permitted him to take, as usual, his seat among his friends in the Senate. How then did Tiberius contrive the matter?—Why he, in the plenitude of his power and of his insidiousness, wrote a tedious unconnected epistle to those very fathers, who were unanimous in deifying and almost in conspiring with him, in which he sometimes commended him, sometimes criminated him, though his co-partner in divinity, but of what Dion does not say—no doubt, of some mysterious offence; for, notwithstanding he was confident of the co-operation of the Senate and the people, he was afraid to write, in plain terms, of his execution, *lest there should be a tumult on that account*—αντικρυς γαρ αποθανειν αυτον ο Τιβεριος ε προσεταξεν. εχ οτι εκ εβλετο, αλλ' οτι εφοβηθη μη ταραχη τις εκ τεττε γενηται—but, as Dion wisely observes, that he ought to be confined. Towards the end of it, says Dion, he also observed that they ought to proceed against two senators the friends of Sejanus.* And without saying for what offence. Enough to have alarmed all the other conspirators, and to have made them think of their own safety.

* It is remarkable that Dion has not told us the names of those two friends of Sejanus, nor what they had done to offend the emperor.—Of Blæsus, the uncle of Sejanus, whom Tiberius afterwards deprived of the priest-hood, Tacitus, we know, says, v. 7—in Blæsum multa sædaque incusavit.

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After some of the multifarious contents of this incoherent epistle had been read, continues Dion, the friends of Sejanus, who sat near him, began to desert him, and the prætors and tribunes of the people to surround him to prevent his escape, and making an insurrection.—And no sooner was the whole epistle read, than the whole body of the Senate, *who had but just before joined in adoring him, and most of whom were then in conspiracy with him, without knowing that he was accused of any thing specific, with one consent, began to utter exclamations and maledictions.* The Senate then, says Dion, perceiving that none of the guards were near to protect him, and, *in order to gratify the people,* immediately, without a trial and without suffering him to speak for himself, proceeded to condemn him, and Regulus, with the rest of the magistrates, conducted him to prison. On the way the commonalty vociferated, on account of those that had, by his means, perished—*απολωλοσιν*—and mocked him for those things which he had hoped—*ελπιθειςιν*.

But what?—Did the Senate, loaded as they had been by him with favors, and conspirators as most of them were with him, and without knowing what Tiberius had to say against him, indeed manifest so much rancour towards him?—And did they, in compliance with the whim of the people, commit him, without any specific accusation, to prison, and as already condemned?—And did they, if they supposed that Tiberius meant to accuse him of a design against the government, commit him alone?—That they did commit any other with him, Dion does not say, though he says, that Tiberius, towards the end of the epistle, observed, that two senators, who were his intimates, *ought to be imprisoned*—*δυσ τε βαλευτας των οικειωμενων οι κολασθηναι και εν φρερα γενεσθαι δειν* ελεγε.—And does it not appear, by this treatment of Sejanus,

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that the Senate was most obsequious to the will of Tiberius, and that the commonalty of Rome were, without understanding the nature of the alledged offence, much exasperated against Sejanus, and, if for revolutionary practices, does it not prove that they must have been well pleased with the government of Tiberius?—Indeed can we suppose that they would have approved of such practices as long as a son of Germanicus was alive?—Does not Dion himself say, p. 625, E., that Tiberius, by making Caius a priest and by shewing signs of inclination to make him his successor, alarmed Sejanus?—Do not Suetonius and Tacitus say that Tiberius gave orders, in case Sejanus should cause an insurrection, to liberate Drusus?—Does not Tacitus tell us that a counterfeit Drusus met with, at the very same time, support in most places, and expected the same even in Italy?

Hitherto, it seems, the Senate had proceeded not only without evidence but without hearing any thing in defence of the culprit.—And what did they do next?—Quickly after—*υστερον & πολλω*—they sentenced him to be put to death: for which, says Dion, l. 59, p. 652, A., Caius, in a laudatory speech on Tiberius, reproached them.—But had not Tiberius, several years before, decreed that no one should be put to death within ten days after his condemnation?—No matter for that. The populace, without knowing that he had committed any offence, dragged his body through the streets three days: and the Senate, not content with having proceeded so precipitately in the execution of Sejanus, condemned and executed his children also, even a girl betrothed to a son of Claudius; and, as V. Maximus says, the populace trod them also under foot. But, says Dion, l. 58, p. 633, A., Tiberius, who does not appear, even by what Dion himself says, to have given any order for the trial of Sejanus, and certainly not for his execution, and does appear to have hinted that two only of his senatorial relatives should be taken into custody, then (785) spared certain others

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though related to him—Τότε δὲ ἐφείσχετο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, καὶ τοὶ τῷ Σηιανῷ ὥχειωμένων.—Now if, as Dion says, Tiberius had not given any order for the trial of his prime-minister, nor any for his execution, and if, as Dion also says, he only hinted that no more than two of his senatorial relatives ought to be taken into custody, with what propriety could Dion have said that Tiberius, in the year following, spared his relatives?—who were those relatives?—That his wife destroyed herself, soon after the fall of Sejanus, Dion himself says;—that the rest of his children were destroyed, by the Senate, before the end of the year, Tacitus, we find, says;—that his uncle, Blæsus, though accused, by Tiberius, of many and scandalous things, when Sejanus fell, was continued in the priest-hood two years after, Tacitus also says;—that L. Sejanus, the prætor, was also spared, even though he had, but the year after his brother had been so unjustly and so cruelly used, been so unaccountably indiscreet as to expose publicly, not the moral or religious enormities of his prince, but a single personal defect, natural to most men of his age, Dion moreover testifies.

But though we find those relatives only mentioned as spared, may not his very aged father have been then alive?—and also spared?—if not honored with an office of the greatest trust?—We know that he was, not many years before, alive, and the governor of Egypt, and of his death we have not any account, neither have we of his return from his præfecture. Let us then not think it useless to endeavour to get some information on this point, because, if it can be made to appear that his father was also spared, it may help us to form a little more decisive opinion whether Tiberius is likely to have caused Sejanus to be put to death—and, for having been guilty of treachery towards himself.

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But, the learned will be ready to ask, how can any one expect to obtain any information on this point?—Not improbably, by considering whether Strabo, the geographer, may not have been the præfect of Egypt. If it should appear that he presided over that country, he, we presume, must have presided over it after the cities of Asia had been re-built, and, seemingly, after the year 780—that is, in the latter part not only of his own life but in that of the life of Tiberius also—for, we know, that he, in the last book, gives a geographical description of Egypt, and, in the course of it, frequently calls that country, in a certain sense, *our country*: and we also know that he must have written that book, no one knows how long after the cities of Asia were re-built—that is, as we have already seen, CHAP. xvi, after 780. Why then, if it can be made to appear that Strabo, the geographer, did, in all probability, govern that country, may we not presume that he may have been no other than the father of Sejanus?—If we may, and can make it appear that he governed Egypt when Sejanus fell, we may hope also to be allowed to make this conclusion—viz—that what Dion says of Sejanus' intention to innovate, and, of the consequent destruction of his whole family is, to say the least, a little more questionable: for if his own father, the præfect of Egypt, does not appear to have conspired with him, how can he be thought to have had any design on the sovereignty?

Strabo, we find, was, by his own account, xii. p. 336, born in the city Amasea, the metropolis of a Roman province of that name, between Pontus and Cappadocia, and his maternal uncle Moaphernes was, as he himself also says, xi. p. 343, the governor of Colchis, under Mithridates.—Of the city Amasea he speaks *as our city*.—In his early years he appears to have removed to Rome, and to have resided so long there as to think it not indecorous to call it and its dependencies

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our territories—for instance, speaking, iii. p. 116, of the inhabitants of Cadiz, he says, that they, though by no means a great people, covered *our sea* and *the exterior* with many and large ships—Οὔτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀνδρες, οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μεγίστα ναυκληρία σέλλοντες, εἰς τε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάτταν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκτος.—And he, we find, notwithstanding he thus claims a share in the property both of his native city and the Roman seas, &c. afterwards, in the last book of his work, where he is speaking of Egypt and of the contiguous countries, much more frequently claims a share in the property of the former—a singular liberty, it must be confessed, for a Roman to take with an exclusively imperial province, if he had not been the præfect of it; and what is still more remarkable than either of the former things noticed, he, not far from the beginning of that book, speaks of the Ethiopians, of his own times, as leading a pastoral life, for this and one or two other reasons—viz—because they are far from *us*, that is, surely, from *us Egyptians*, of whom he is principally speaking, and with whose customs, &c. he is comparing those of the Ethiopians, as may be thought to appear a little more clearly by the subjoined remark—the Egyptians, on the contrary, are more civilized.

Why then should we not conclude that Strabo, the geographer, is likely to have governed Egypt, and, that he is likely to have been the father of Sejanus?

But, admitting that he is likely to have been so, how will it be made to appear that he survived his son?

To this we will reply, that we hope to make it appear that he did survive his son—first, by what he says, book xvi, of those Chaldeans who were, by the rest, undervalued, because they studied genethliology—secondly, by what he afterwards says, in the same book, of the conquests made by the Jews after they came under the control of

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superstitious governors—next, by what he says, in the xviith, of the inattention paid by his cotemporaries to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and, to oracles in general—then, by what he says of the name of the queen of the Ethiopians *in his time*—of the Ethiopians worshipping an immortal and a mortal God, and of some of them denying the existence of God—and, lastly, by what he says of *the hæresy* of the Cyrenians.

First, he says, of certain Chaldeans that they were, by the rest of their countrymen, undervalued, for studying genethliology—a distinction which he has not made, book i. p. 16, where he says how much the Chaldeans* in general, or *Magi*, were, for their learning, honored. That those Chaldeans, or Magi, were consulted at Rome, from the days of Horace to those of Juvenal, appears by what the former says in his ode to Leuconoe, and, by what the latter says in his vi. satire. That they were more consulted, in the reign of Tiberius, than even the ancient oracles, may be inferred from what Juvenal† and Tacitus say.‡ That they were, a little before his death, patronized by Tiberius, and that he studied their favorite science and was a great proficient in it, Juvenal, Josephus, and Tacitus say.

Secondly, he says, of the Jews, l. xvi. p. 524, that the separatists, from them disturbed the peace of their own and of the neighbouring countries, and that partisans of those in power among them wasted other countries, particularly Syria and Phœnicia—Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφίσταμενοι τὴν χώραν ἐκακῶν, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν γειτνιωσαν, οἱ δὲ συμπραττοντες τοῖς ἀρχασι καθηρπαζον τὰ ἀλλοτρία, καὶ τῆς Συρίας κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης πολλὴν.—Now what does he mean by those separatists?—When did they leave

* Strabo says, p. 509, that Seleucus was one of the Chaldean ἀξολογοί—and Seleucus, Suetonius says, vii. 4, was a genethliologist, or mathematician.

† S. vi. 557, &c.

‡ Tacitus, ii. 27.

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the Jews and lay waste not only Judea but the country furrounding it? When did those agents of those in power lay waste Syria and much of Phœnicia?—When did any party of Jews lay waste their own country and the furrounding?—When did any coadjutors of those in power upset Syria and much of Phœnicia?—If by this he did not mean to allude to the disturbances caused by the numerous arrests, in Judea and in all the furrounding countries, of believers as transgressors of the law of Moses, what can he have meant?

Strabo next remarks, xvii. p. 559, of the oracle at Ammon, and of oracles in general, how much they were, in his time, disregarded—to all I have said of Ammon I have this to add—that both it and divination in general, and places for that purpose, were more in repute formerly. Now they are much neglected, the Romans being contented with the responses of the Sibyl, &c.*—Πολλὰ δ' εἰρηκοτεῖς περὶ τῆς Ἀμμωνος, τοσούτον εἰπεῖν βελομεθα, ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ, καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθολῆ, καὶ τὰ χρηστηρία, νυνὶ δὲ ολίγωρία κατεχει πολλή, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρκεμένων τοῖς Σιβυλλῆς χρησμῶσι, καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνίκοις θεοπροπίοις, δία τε σπλαγχνῶν, καὶ ορνίθειας, καὶ διοσημειῶν. Διὸ περ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί σχεδὸν τί ἐκλείπεται χρηστηρίον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτετίμητο.

Strabo then informs us that the name of the queen of Ethiopia, who reigned in his time, was Candace—and, that she was of a masculine mind—and, that she had but one eye.—He also adds that the Ethiopians worshipped two Gods, an immortal and a mortal—and, that some of them denied the existence of any God—which, we find, the early Christians were said to have denied, if not to have worshipped a man.

* In what repute the responses of the Sibyl were with the Romans, in the reign of Tiberius, any one may form an opinion from what Petronius Arbiter represents Agamemnon (Tiberius) to have declared—viz—Nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere; et cum illi pueri dicerent Σιβυλλὰ, τί θελεῖς respondebat illa ἀποθανεῖν θέλω.

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Lastly, Strabo says of the Cyrenians that they held an hærefy, which Anniceris was, in his time, desirous of rectifying—*καὶ Ἀννικερὶς, ὁ δοκῶν ἐπαναρθῶσαι τὴν Κυρηναϊκὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ παραγαγεῖν αὐτ' αὐτῆς τὴν Ἀννικερῖαν.*—But who ever heard of any hærefy before the publication of Christianity?—And who does not know that men of Cyrene are said to have been some of the first publishers of it?—And so early as the beginning of the year 782?

Now if all or any of those several things above noticed, as mentioned by Strabo in his two last books, be supposed to have a reference to the first publishing of Christianity, why may we not conclude that Strabo was no other than Iberus, mentioned by Dion, as the predecessor of Flaccus in the year 785; however we seem to have reason enough to conclude that the father of Sejanus survived his son, and was, at his death, entrusted with the command of Egypt.

If then with Sejanus neither his wife, nor two of his three children, nor his father, nor his brother, nor his uncle fell, why are we told that all his family fell with him;—and if, when he fell, his father, his brother, and his uncle were permitted to continue in offices of the greatest trust, why should we think that Sejanus was put to death for revolutionary projects?

After Sejanus and one or two of his children had been put to death, not by the order of Tiberius, but by the tumultuary proceeding of the Senate, and, as Dion, we have seen, says, to gratify the people of Rome, that city was, no doubt, as V. Maximus says, soon quiet.—Far, very far from it. Dion informs us that much confusion still pervaded it—*θορυβὸς τε πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηνεχθῆ*—that the populace proceeded to murder not only those who had *been possessed of power under Sejanus* but also those who *had behaved insultingly under him**—*ο γὰρ*

* Pliny, in his N. H. xxviii. 2, which he entitles—*An sit in medendo verborum aliqua vis. &c.*: seems to complain of insults by sneezing—and, to say

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δημος ειπε τινα των μεγα παρα τῷ Σηιανῷ δουλευτων και δ' αυτον υβρισαντων κατε-
 φωρα, εφονευσεν.—The soldiers too, (notwithstanding Tiberius had, as Dion
 says, given express orders to the magistrates and commanders to pre-
 serve the peace,) indignant at finding themselves suspected of attach-
 ment to Sejanus by the substitution of night watches more in the con-
 fidence of the emperor—*ες την τε αυτοκρατορος πισιν*—became incendiaries
 and depredators.—If such outrages were, notwithstanding the express
 orders of Tiberius to the magistrates of Rome to preserve the peace,
 permitted to prevail, how could Tacitus have said, vi. 10, of Piso, the
 U. P., that his chief praise was for having been wonderfully discreet
 in the use of his power when the people were disposed to be insubor-
 dinate?—sed præcipua ex eo gloria, quod præfectus urbi recens, con-
 tinuam potestatem et insolentiâ parendi graviolem, mire temperavit.—
 But what were the Senate doing in the mean time?—Instead of paying
 the least attention to it they decreed a statue to *Liberty*† to be set up
 in the Forum, and ordered, what was never done, on such an occasion,
 before, that the day, on which Sejanus fell, should be annually cele-
 brated, as a festival, by all persons in office, and by all priests, and by
 horse races, and by the exhibitions of the fights of wild beasts—that
 they, being persuaded that the Gods had infatuated him, in contempt
 of his memory, instituted new rites to the Gods.—And, what some
 perhaps may think rather more remarkable, they even ordered that

that Tiberius encouraged the practice, by taking with him, in his carriage,
 that most dismal of mortals.—Whence this insulting practice originated, and
 who this most dismal wretch was, we leave Theologians to divine.

† Pighius tells us that there is the following monumental inscription at In-
 terumma, which he supposes was engraven on this occasion—*Saluti perpetuæ*
Augustæ, Libertatiq̃ perpetuæ P. R.—Providentiæ Ti: Cæsaris Augusti,
nati ad æternitatem romani nominis, sublato hoste perniciosissimo.

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neither excessive honors should be paid to any one, nor oaths made *by* any one but the emperor—και μητε τιμας μηδενι υπερλογικες διδοσθαι, μητε τας ορκας επ’* αλλα τινοσ, πλην τε αυτοκρατορος ποιεισθαι.

But does not the Senate, by so doing, appear to have been not only inattentive to the prevailing anarchy, but even encouragers of it?—And to have been clearly hostile, not only to Sejanus, but to Tiberius as well?—By erecting a statue to Liberty in the Forum, they appear to have encouraged anarchy.—By voluntarily ordering the day on which Sejanus perished to be annually a day of rejoicing, they appear to have been enemies to Sejanus.—And by decreeing that no excessive honors should be paid to any one, or oaths taken *by* any but the emperor, they appear to have acted not only most ridiculously (for Tiberius ever despised such honor and such a mode of swearing) but most insultingly—as indeed they seem to have acknowledged, only a few months after, by unanimously approving the speech of Terentius, in the course of which he said—Non est nostrum æstimare, quem super cæteros et quibus de causis extollas. T. vi. 8. 9.

Sejanus then was, we find, by the report of Dion, most extravagantly honored, even as an autocrat, by Tiberius, the Senate, and the people, especially by the married ladies of Rome, the katakoreis, the deceived, and the believers, till within a few days of his fall.—And Tiberius was, by the report of the same writer, considered, by the Romans, as little more than the autocrat of Capreæ.—That Sejanus put many of the nobles to death, he also says, but for what crime, he, to our surprise, does not say.—That he prosecuted Fufius, the jeering consul of his aged sovereign, *for impiety to him*, the year before he fell, he, to our greater surprise, says.—That Fufius, and perhaps his wife, killed themselves, on that account, he, to our still greater surprise,

* επι των ιερων ομοσαι—to swear *by* the sacred victims.

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asserts.—And, notwithstanding he says all this, he, to our much greater surprise, says, that he intended to seize the government.*—That the emperor's letter accused him of any attempt, or even design, to injure or molest his person, or to lessen his prerogative, he does not say.—It said nothing of his death, and perhaps not of his imprisonment, without a fair trial.—And yet no sooner was it known that Tiberius did not uniformly speak of him in his usual tone, than all his senatorial friends and dependents began to desert him, and the consuls, one of whom was his friend, to please the people who knew nothing that had been done, conducted him publicly to prison, and apparently without a military guard.—The populace, most of whom had conspired with him, seeing him thus disgraced, without knowing the reason, insulted him and all his statues in the most outrageous manner.—Not long after, he was, *by a decree of the Senate*, (most of whom he, it seems, had obliged) and apparently without any order from Tiberius, executed, and his body exposed for three days to the insults of the populace, and then thrown into the Tyber.—All his children were, by a decree of the Senate, then destroyed, not excepting a girl betrothed to Claudius. Dion, it should be observed, does not say that any political innovators suffered with him, (neither does V. Maximus) neither does he say (as V. Maximus and Juvenal do) that order and public tranquillity were soon established;—on the contrary, he says, that the most terrible consequences ensued—that the very guards, as well as the populace, committed every kind of outrage—and that the Senate, though Tiberius had ordered the magistrates to preserve the public peace, seemed to pay no attention to it—that they were overjoyed at the fall of Sejanus, and apparently inclined to trench on

* V. M. says to cause a general massacre at Rome.

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the prerogatives of Tiberius, and even to insult him—and that Tiberius, *under the pretence of Sejanic accusations*, put many to death, and caused many to put themselves to death.

By the testimony of those seven or eight writers then, three of whom were cotemporaries with Tiberius, and two born soon after his death, Sejanus was, in the beginning of the 18th year, accused, by Tiberius, of something—but whether of meditating some kind of political innovation it does not appear.—Tacitus affirms that it was against the security and life of Tiberius—and that persons of all ranks and ages, senators and soldiers, men and women, were concerned in it. Josephus says nearly the same. Dion too says that the married women were especially concerned in it.—At the time when Sejanus thought of executing this plot, the imperious Agrippina and her sons Drusus and Caius, in favour of whom, and against Sejanus, the populace of Rome had already declared, were still alive.—Consequently, it would be of no use to crush Tiberius in his retreat, unless Rome was at first secured.—But the Jews, of whom there were swarms at Rome, were, says Philo, much attached to Tiberius.—To make way for the execution of his plot, Sejanus thought it necessary to persuade Tiberius to expel them from Rome—though under what pretence he does not say.

Sejanus then having, as Philo says, on some pretence or other, prevailed on Tiberius and the Senate to expel the Jews from Rome, for fear they would oppose his long meditated plot, next *intended*, as V. Maximus says, *to massacre all the rest of the inhabitants*, though they were mostly, *especially the married women*, in his interest—and not a few of them swore, as Dion says, even by his fortune.—But, in the mean time, says V. Maximus, this long meditated plot was, by *the divine providence* and by the foresight of Tiberius, who was still at

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Capreæ with his Chaldean associates, happily discovered.—This discovery, it should be observed, seems, according to V. Maximus, Philo, and Dion, to have been made after the consulate of Tiberius, and not as Suetonius says, before.—Tiberius no sooner found out what his minister intended to do, than he considered with himself how to destroy him—and finding that he could not do it, with safety, in an open manner, he devised a method that astonished Sejanus and all his party. The step which he took was this—he, every now and then, wrote letters to Sejanus and the Senate, in which he gave different accounts of himself—and some times commended Sejanus and his associates, sometimes found fault with them—which method of proceeding disconcerted Sejanus, who, though he had spies at Capreæ, yet he never once thought of having recourse to arms.—At last Tiberius sent, by Macro, a very long and incoherent letter to the Senate, towards the close of which he said that two senators, the intimates of Sejanus, ought to be punished; and, last of all, that Sejanus, ought to be confined. The two senators seem to have been the two Blæsi, one of whom was the uncle of Sejanus, the other Pontifex Maximus.—As soon as it was only supposed that Tiberius had intimated a desire that Sejanus should be imprisoned, all his adherents and creatures, even Trio, left him, and the other consul and other state officers surrounded him, and, without permitting him to speak for himself, conducted him to prison, and all ranks of people, most of whom were concerned in his conspiracy, without waiting for the formalities of a trial, flew, early as it then was, to crush the enemy of their defender and protector of their peace, together with *all his family*, excepting Livilla, his brother Lucius the prætor, and his uncle Blæsus, and perhaps his father.—All this was, as Juvenal and Dion say, effected by the last letter of Tiberius to the Senate, in which he, says Dion, only, now and then, blamed

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Sejanus and intimated that he ought to be imprisoned, but said nothing of the imprisonment of any other, nor of his death.—No writer, it should be observed, says that any other conspirator was imprisoned with him—nor, that any other, besides his own family, fell with him—neither does any one say that any of his conspirators absconded.—V. Maximus says that the people trod him to death.—Seneca says that they tore him in pieces—that there was not enough of him left for the hangman to drag through the streets of the city.—Juvenal says that the hangman did drag his *body* through the city—and that it lay on the banks of the Tyber, where the people, to shew their allegiance to Tiberius, went and trod on it.—V. Maximus says that no sooner was Sejanus put to death than tranquillity was restored.—Juvenal seems to say that the people were totally unconcerned about the matter.—But how different is this from that of Tacitus and Dion.—Tacitus says that his fall was as injurious to the inhabitants of Rome as his continuance in power had been—that a sort of contention arose between the Senate and Tiberius concerning the disposal of his effects—that his adherents were prosecuted and executed continually for several years after.—Dion, we find, says, that the greatest anarchy ensued—that the commonalty proceeded to murder those who had insulted under Sejanus—that the soldiers became incendiaries and depredators—that the Senate took no notice of all this insubordination, but rejoiced at his death—that they immediately decreed that his fall should annually be celebrated by the priests and by new rites to the Gods—and that they decreed one or two other things highly offensive to Tiberius—and, that Tiberius, *under a pretence of Sejanic accusations*, put many to death, and caused others to put themselves to death—

Τιβέριος προφασιν τὰ Σεϊανὰ ἐγκλήματα ποιηταίμενος, πολλὰς παννὶ ἀπώλλυε τὰς
κ. τ. λ.

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On a review of all that has been said concerning the cause *of his fall*, what do we perceive besides obscurities, improbabilities, contradictions, and even glaring absurdities?—Had the report of any of those historians been satisfactory, would Juvenal, who was born before any of those who were not cotemporaries with Sejanus, have represented the people of Rome as asking such questions concerning it?—and acquiescing in the suggestion that the sole cause of it was a letter of the emperor to the Senate, the contents of which were never known.

After all that has been said of the cause of the fall of Sejanus, it may not be amiss to observe two things: the first is—that if there was, as Seneca says, and P. Arbiter also says, a civil war at Rome, and in the end of 783 and beginning of 784, why did not Sejanus then seize the opportunity to effect his purpose?—especially as all classes were well affected to him?—The other is—that V. Paterculus, who speaks most highly both of Tiberius and of him the year before he fell, and of the then universal tranquillity of the Roman empire, is himself, though a great favorite of Tiberius, supposed to have fallen a victim to his attachment to Sejanus.—Now if two such subjects, who had been indebted to Tiberius for all their preferment, conspired against him, can we wonder that he ordered them to be executed?—Or rather can we suppose that two such favorites (one of whom had publicly acknowledged how much they were both obliged to him) would, in the time of the greatest tranquillity, have conspired against their sovereign? Paterculus, we know, in the last chapter of his work, uses an expression which has puzzled annotators—some think he speaks of complaints made to the Gods of some God or Gods, but may he not by this have alluded to the introduction of some new Deity?—And he, we also know, promises, in the end of that chapter, to conclude with a petition.—What then is that petition?—It is that which occurs in

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the work of Seneca, de Benif. l. 4, c. 7—or, that which V. Acidalius notices—and which he prefaces with a sort of acknowledgement that the author of nature had different appellations, and that Vinicius was at liberty to address him by what name he pleased !

CHAPTER XXII.

When and why did Agrippa leave Italy?

JOSEPHUS informs us, A. xviii. 7, α., that Agrippa was obliged to leave Italy on account of the vast debt which he had contracted, most of which, he says, he had expended *on the freedmen of Cæsar*.—But what he had to do with the freedmen of Cæsar, Josephus has omitted to inform us, at least in plain terms—he only seems to hint, and very obscurely, that Agrippa hoped that some project of theirs would succeed—*ελπιδι πραξεως της αυτων*.—To this very incomprehensible reason our historian, in the end of the same section, has subjoined another, as an auxiliary to that above stated—viz—that Agrippa had been one of the most intimate companions of Drusus, and that, as Tiberius could not bear the sight of any of his son's favorites, he found it necessary not only to leave Rome but Italy, and to retire to his own country. But is this other any way likely to have been the smallest part of the true cause of his quitting Rome and Italy too, at any time?—What say Seneca, Tacitus, and Suetonius of the manner in which Tiberius bore

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the loss of his only son?—Seneca, in his *Consolation to Marcia*, then almost disconsolate for the loss of her son, chap. 15, proposes to her, before the death of Livia, Tiberius, as the most remarkable pattern of fortitude under the loss of his dearest son.—He says, that he spoke his dear son's funeral oration, and that, when all Rome was quite overcome with grief for the loss of that promising prince, Tiberius was alone unmoved.—Tacitus supports the evidence of Seneca on this point, he says, iv. 10, that he did not relax his concern for the public welfare—that he had recourse to public business as his solace—that he administered justice, and attended to the complaints of the provinces as usual.—Sed Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum curâ, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces sociorum tractabat. Suetonius too confirms this testimony, he says, iii. 52, that Tiberius made this reply to the people of Ilium, who were a little too tardy in addressing him on the occasion—that he was very sorry for their loss of Hector.

Now as those three writers bear such unanimous testimony as to the noble conduct of Tiberius, on this afflicting occasion, why should we suffer ourselves to be persuaded by Josephus that he could not endure the sight of Agrippa, because he had been one of the more intimate companions of his only son?—And why, if that had really been true, should we suffer ourselves to be persuaded that Agrippa would have thought it at all necessary to leave Italy?—especially if Tiberius had, before he did it, left Rome?—And why should we not suspect that Josephus must have had some very sinister view for endeavoring to impose a false opinion, in this case, on our credulity?

As we seem to have so great an appearance of reason for suspecting Josephus of a design to impose on our credulity in this affair, let us proceed to examine what he says further, with a degree of caution suited to our suspicions.

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Though he seems inclined to persuade us, in the first section of this 7th chapter, that Agrippa went from Italy soon after the death of Drusus—that is, either in the year 776 or soon after it, yet who will deny that he seems to say enough in the very next section to convince us that that prince did not reach Judea till after the marriage of his uncle and sister, which, we suppose, happened in the year 780.—But whether he went from Rome and Italy to avoid his creditors, or to avoid injuring the feelings of Tiberius, it appears, both by what Josephus says in the fifth section of this same 7th chapter, and from what he again says in his B. ii. 9, §. ε., that he, not many years after, returned thither again—for he, in this same chapter, says that he returned before the death of Piso—that is, as Tacitus and Dion say, before the end of the year 785—and, in his B. ii. 9, §., he, having said that Pilate rifled the sacred treasury, also says, in the next ε., that Agrippa, in the interim—*Καὶν τετρω*—went to Rome for the purpose of accusing (not Pilate observe, but) his uncle, the tetrarch of Galilee, of something.—In Italy he now appears to have remained, in the family of Tiberius, till the death of that monarch, as the tutor of his grandson. But regardless of the patronage of that most benevolent monarch, he, says Josephus, instead of shewing his gratitude to his benefactor, and his concern for the only child of his friend Drusus, paid his court to Caius, and wished Tiberius dead, and his own darling Caius his successor.

As then Agrippa, by the account of Josephus, seems to have lavished such an immense sum of money on the freedmen of Cæsar, and *in hope that their project would succeed*, and to have left Judea for some other reason besides the fear of aggravating the grief of Tiberius, and afterwards to have been so ungrateful to his best friend, and so base towards the surviving child of his departed companion, how are we to be sure that he was not the instigator of the libertines?

 CHAPTER XXIII.

Was Peter at Rome in the days of Tiberius?

WE have seen that the faith of Christ appears to have been received at Rome in the year 781, that is, nearly ten years before the death of Tiberius, and that, though much opposition was at first made to the reception of it by unbelievers, Jews, and Romans, those who received it were, during the remainder of his reign, permitted, under his patronage, to profess it without molestation. And we seem to have reason to think that it was, very shortly after, received in almost all the provinces—for Clemens of Rome informs us that Tiberius caused inquisition to be made, throughout all the provinces, for the maleficient, (of whom Simon, it seems, was one,) in order to put them to death—and, immediately after the fall of Sejanus, ordered all his cheirottonized hyparchs, in the provinces, to be favorable to those Jews only who behaved peaceably.—Indeed Eusebius as good as tells us, Eccl. hist. ii. 2. fin. and 3. init., that the example which Tiberius, by becoming obedient to the faith, set, was, in a short time, followed by

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all the world.—At least we have reason to think that churches or societies of Christians were, in the course of his reign, established in most great cities—for instance—in Antioch, in Alexandria, in Edeſſa, in Adiabene, if not in countries ſtill more remote from Judea—viz—in Parthia, Meſopotamia, Arabia, India, Ethiopia, Libya, and Cyrene, of which province Crete, ſays Strabo, xviii, was a part.—About the end of his reign 10,000 perſons were, ſays Clemens of Rome, *Recog.* x. 71, in the ſhort ſpace of ſeven days, converted, at Antioch alone, to the faith, on which occaſion Theophilus, the moſt eminent perſon there, converted his palace into a church.

Now how were thoſe various ſocieties of Chriſtians governed during thoſe ten years?

We do not read, in the new teſtament, that any one of the twelve Apoſtles attempted to preach the goſpel to Gentiles before Peter went, at the ſpecial command of God, to Cornelius, which, by all accounts, happened ſeven years after the aſcenſion, or, u. c. 788, at which time the other Apoſtles demanded of him the reaſon why he took ſo extraordinary a ſtep, and Peter thought it neceſſary to enter into a formal juſtification of his conduct in that affair.—Neither do we read, in any part of the new teſtament, that any of the Apoſtles left Judea, for the purpoſe of preaching to Gentiles, till the murder of James, who appears to have been put to death after the diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians at Antioch, which event, as John, of that city, tells us, happened in the 10th after the aſcenſion, or rather, if, as Eusebius ſays, *Eccl. hiſt.* ii. 9, James ſuffered after Claudius began to reign, he appears, by what Luke and Joſephus ſay, to have ſuffered before the feaſt of unleavened bread in the 3d of Claudius, and therefore in the 13th or 14th after the aſcenſion; for Luke ſays that he was put to

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death before that feast, and, seemingly, in the same year that Agrippa died; and Josephus says that Agrippa died in the 7th of his reign.*

As then we cannot find the least encouragement in the Acts to think that any of the twelve Apostles left Judea, for the purpose of preaching to Gentiles, before the death of James—that is, according to Eusebius, before the 13th or 14th year after the ascension, and consequently not any encouragement to think that Peter was at Rome in the reign of Tiberius; let us proceed to enquire whether any early ecclesiastical writer appears to authorise us to think that Peter may have been at Rome in the reign of that monarch.

Clemens of Rome, in his *Recog. Homil.* and *G. P.*, mentions Peter as having opposed the preaching of Simon, the forcerer, at several places near Judea, and especially at Antioch, but he no where says that he was at Rome in the reign of Tiberius.—Just before his martyrdom he mentions him, chapter 144 of the last mentioned work, as having appointed himself bishop of that city.

Papias, it has been thought, has mentioned Peter as having been at Rome, because he says that Mark wrote what Peter preached, and Mark, Eusebius tells us, ii. 14, wrote his gospel at Rome, as Peter preached it.—But though Papias may be supposed to have said so, yet he does not say that Peter was at Rome *in the reign of Tiberius*.

* By what Luke and Josephus say of the employment of Agrippa, at Cæsarea, when he was, by the people, supposed a God, it appears that he was celebrating the 11th quinquennial in commemoration of the building of that city by Herod—for a Greek chronologist informs us that it was completed in the first year of the 192d olympiad, or u. c. 742. OA—PΘB. A. *Καίσαρεια Στρατωνος* υπο Ηρωδου ετελειωθη. Eus. Chron. Can. p. 266, says the same.—See Chron. Syn. p. 385.

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Eusebius, indeed, who says, in his Chronology, Λ. Π. p. 62, l. 26,* that Cyrenius was, in the year 33 of Herod, sent to tax Judea—and, that our Lord was, as we also say, born in that same year,† says also, in that same page, l. 53, that he was baptised in the 15th of Tiberius, and that he suffered in the 18th year.—Eusebius furthermore says, p. 64, l. 47, that Peter went, after he had founded a church at Antioch, in the 40th year of the incarnation, (which, by his own previous account concerning the year in which our Lord was born, p. 62, l. 26, must have been the 20th of Tiberius, and therefore, if, as some suppose, Cornelius was not converted within seven years after the ascension, the year *before* Cornelius was converted) to Rome to preach the gospel there.—But does Eusebius appear to have been always of the same opinion?—If he does, why has he told us, Eccl. hist. ii. 14, 15, of the effect of Peter's preaching at Rome in the reign of Claudius?—Why has he, on the authority of Apollonius, of Hierapolis, recorded, Eccl. hist. v. 8, p. 126, C., the following tradition?—and, without the least animadversion on the singularity of it?—viz—that our Lord, after his resurrection, commanded the twelve *not* to depart from Judea till the expiration of twelve years, which twelve years expired in the year of Rome 793, or the third of Caius.—Επί δε ως εκ παραδωσεως τον Σωτηρα φησι προσεταχεναι τοις αυτε αποστολοις, επι δωδεκα ετεσι μη χωρισθηναι της Ιερου-

* Εν τῷ λγ ετει Ηρωδου Κυρηνιος υπο τε συγκλητε βελῆς απεσαλμενος εις την Ιουδαϊαν απογραφας εποιησατο τῶν βασιῶν και τῶν οικητορων.

† Εν τῷ αυτῷ (λγ) Ιησῦς Χριστος ὁ θεος ημῶν εν Βηθλεεμ τῆς Ιουδαϊας γενναῖται.—The same thing he also says Chron. Can. p. 186.—See Epit. Chron. p. 267.

— και εν τῷ αυτε μὲ ηχθη ὁ κατ' Αντιοχειαν τῶν ετῶν αριθμος, τσπε τῷ αυτῷ ετει, Ηρωδου δε λγ, Κυρηνιος κ. τ. λ. εν δε τῷ αυτῷ ετει ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ὁ θεος ημῶν, εν Βηθλεεμ γενναῖται.—Chron. Syn. p. 390.

Query—What say the Syrian Christians in India of the year in which our Lord was born?

Was Peter at Rome in the days of Tiberius?

σαλημ.—Can Eusebius have thought this tradition handed to him by an immediate successor of an intimate of the Apostles* of no account? —Did he not know that Clemens, of Alexandria, a cotemporary of Apollonius, has recorded the same tradition, and, as obtained, through Hebrews.—He says, Strom. vi. p. 636, 7, Εαν μὲν ἐν τῷ θελήσει τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῶσαι, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος μὲ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, ἀφηθησονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξελεύσεται εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μὴ τις εἴπῃ ἔκ ηἡβησαμεν.—This, it should be observed, Clemens gives as the report of Peter, for he prefaces it with the following remark—διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκεῖναι τὸν Κύριον τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις.—Now as the Apostles are said, by those very re-

* Scil.—of Papias—How it happens that the works of this most learned and most venerable Apostolic bishop are no longer apparent is unaccountable, but still more unaccountable that our modern recondite Theologians consider him as a mere mitred ninny. Had they paid due attention to the evidence of Africanus, Eusebius, Jerom, Andrew bishop of Cæsarea, Photius, and the Alexandrine Chron. concerning him, they would have discovered, that instead of having been what they unjustly suppose, he was among the first Apostolic presbyters, and not inferior, as a writer, to either Ignatius, Polycarp, or Clemens of Rome.

Eusebius says of him, Eccl. hist. iii, that he emigrated from Judea, with Quadratus (who was a hearer of the Apostles) and many others, to preach the gospel—that he was, in the reign of Trajan, bishop of Hierapolis—that he was ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα λογιστάτος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδημῶν—that he was one of the Apostolic three who published a written record of the true Apostolic doctrine—that he was the only Apostolic presbyter that attested the authenticity of the gospels by Matthew and Mark, and that of the revelation to John.—And in his Chron. A. Π. he says, that Papias was, with Polycarp, a hearer of John *the Theologian*.

Jerom says, in Cat., that he was a hearer of John *the Apostle*—the companion of Polycarp—and, the instructor of Irenæus.—And, epistle to Luc., a Spaniard, that his voluminous works were so *elegantly* written, that he was afraid to undertake to translate them.

Andrew of C., who lived about A. D. 500, quotes his work.

Lastly—M. Aurelius thought him so great a pillar of the church that he caused him to be put to death.

Was Peter at Rome in the days of Tiberius?

respectable early Christian writers, to have been commanded by their Lord, after his resurrection, not to go to the Gentiles till the expiration of twelve years, does not this seem to imply that they did not, till the end of that period, leave Jerusalem for the purpose of preaching to the Gentiles?

In short—as Tiberius is said, by Tacitus, to have left Rome in the year 779 for the purpose of dedicating churches, and in the year 780 to have finished that pious work—as he is also said, by him, to have deprived, in the year 788, the Bæsi of the priest-hood, and to have given it to others—as he is said, by Philo, to have had certain hyparchs cheirotized—and as he is said, by Pliny, to have been fond of taking with him that most gloomy of mortals in his chariot, to the great annoyance of the Romans.—and, lastly, as it appears that Peter was not at Rome in his reign, why should we not conclude that some other Apostle ordained the first preachers in Italy?

CHAPTER XXIV.

*A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius,
and of his conduct towards Christians.*

THAT the Romans, and all the people subject to them, excepting only the Jews, were, notwithstanding Tiberius had, as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion say, then caused his son-in-law, his adopted son, and his only son to be murdered, disposed, so late as the year 778, to worship him, with his mother and the Senate, Tacitus himself informs us.—That Tiberius, in that year, objected to the practice, as impious in man and derogatory from the honor of the Gods.—That he, ever after, used, in his private conversation, to speak most contemptuously of the worship of man, the same writer also says.—That some persons, notwithstanding his objection to such a mode of honoring him, continued, ever after, to worship him, and, that many were, till the end of his reign, persecuted for not worshipping him, even by the Senate, is said, not only by the same writer, but by Seneca and Dion.—That he was, till he went to Capreæ, that is, till he was nearly 70 years of age, accounted a favorite with the Gods, is plain from what the same writer also says of the means by which the fire on Mount Cœlius was

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

commonly thought to have been extinguished.—That he was, till that time, accounted a most admirable prince, is plain, from what Suetonius says of the importunity of the people to see him immediately after the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ, when crowded with two or three myriads of spectators, fell and buried most of them in its ruins—and that he really was, at that late period, so good a prince, is also plain, from what the same writer says of his readiness, though at the time overcome with grief, to comply with their request, on that occasion, and of his extreme condescension to every body while there.—That he was, for his beneficence on those two occasions, thanked both by the Senate and the people, Tacitus assures us.—That he was, till near the end of the same year, (780) considered, by the Senate, as the only suffuge from existing evils, that is, the evils caused by accusers, Tacitus also assures us.—That he was, still later in that year, suspicious and remarkable for a temerity of believing, and that Sejanus increased it, he complains.—That the Senate was, in the beginning of the year 781, so submissive to his will, and so hostile to the family of Germanicus, as to condemn Sabinus, the only remaining adherent of that family, unjustly, he also complains.—That Tiberius, at the same time, complained that his life was in danger, he furthermore says.—That a motion was made, in the Senate, by Gallus, to request Tiberius to explain the cause of his fears, in order to have them removed;—that Sejanus objected to the motion on the score that the dilatory prince did not choose to have the ground of his apprehensions known, he also says.—That the Senate, in the same year, sought to conciliate his alienated affection by the most preposterous devices, he furthermore says.—That they, again and again, petitioned him to indulge them with an interview, but to no purpose.—That they, finding all other expedients unavailable, came to the resolution of proceeding, together

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

with the knights and commonalty, to the coast of Campania, in order to intreat him to grant them an interview.—That he would not, even then, consent to be seen.—That Sejanus did condescend to see a few of them, who were, soon after, on their return, made to suffer a grievous exit for it, Tacitus moreover testifies, but without attempting to account for this mysterious strangeness.—That his mother, who had, for several years before, been, with him and the Senate, worshipped, and who knew that *cœlestes religiones* had been decreed to Augustus, desired him, a little before her death, (which happened early in the year 782,) to object to her consecration or immortalization, or, apotheosis, for a certain reason; Tiberius himself, who, for some reason,* abstained from attending her funeral, said—that her reason could not, as Tacitus says, have been *lest* *cœlestial religion* should be decreed, any one may perceive by what has been just said—that her reason is more likely to have been *unless* *cœlestial religion* should, at the same time, be decreed, is, we think, not improbable.—That very soon after his mother was buried much opposition was made, both by the Senate and by the people, to some measure proposed, to the Senate, by Tiberius, relative to Agrippina and her son Nero, is, we also find, said by Tacitus.—That both he and Sejanus were, in the Senate, publicly aspersed, and even by one of the consuls, is, we find, also said.—That Sejanus then complained of the insubordination of the people;—and, that Tiberius then also complained that his imperial authority had been publicly evaded by the finessè of one senator, and that he then published an edict reprimanding the populace, he moreover informs us.—That Tiberius and Sejanus were, in the year following, on the best of terms, Paterculus assures us.—That they were, in the second year following, colleagues in the consulship, we know.—That Tibe-

* If, as Petronius Arbiter says, Cæsar complained that he was driven from Rome, how could any one expect that he should attend his mother's funeral?

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rius then used, in his letters to the Senate, to style him, *the partner of his cares*, Dion and others say.—That the misinformed and *believing* *πιστευοντες** then erected statues of brass, with inscriptions on them, to both Tiberius and Sejanus, and placed gilded chairs of state, for both of them, in the Theatre, and, that the Senate, at the same time, decreed that their consulship should be quinquennial, that a procession should go to meet them as often as they should enter Rome, and, that they sacrificed to both alike, Dion also says.—That Sejanus was, in the course of that same year, permitted to marry Livilla, Tacitus clearly seems to say.—That he was, before the end of that same year, put to death, nobody doubts.—That Tiberius was accused of having been the cause of it, we know.—But why he is supposed to have done it, nobody knew, even in the days of Juvenal.—That he procured it to be done by sending a long unintelligible epistle to the Senate, in which he said nothing of his execution, though he, as Dion afterwards said, had given orders to the magistrates of Rome to prevent tumults, Dion moreover says.—That the Senate, *perceiving that none of the guards were near to protect him, and in order to gratify the populace*, immediately, without a trial and without suffering him to speak for himself, condemned him, and, the same day, proceeded (in defiance of the decree forbidding such præcipitate executions,) to execute him, Dion furthermore says.—That the Senate decreed also that his children should be put to death, and that Livilla is also said to have been, about the same time, put to death, Dion also testifies; but whether she was executed by the order of Tiberius, or by that of her own mother, Dion could not say.—That a tumult ensued in the city, notwithstanding Tiberius had given orders to the magistrates to preserve the peace,

* Who those misguided and believing persons were, Dion, it is observable, does not say; he, however, says, that they were not more inclined to treat Tiberius and Sejanus with respect than the Senate.

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he also says.—That the people murdered the partisans of Sejanus.—That the life-guards also became mutinous, not because their commander and his friends had been killed, but because night centinels, *more in the faith—ἐἰς πίσιν—of the emperor*, had been appointed, and not only mutinous, but depredators and incendiaries, Dion also says.—That the Senate too disagreed much among themselves, and that those among them, who had been the adherents of Sejanus, were in great trepidation and overcome by fear, as well they *who had accused others*, as they *who had borne testimony against them*, lest they should come under a suspicion of having been the cause of the death of those accused persons, not to gratify Tiberius, but Sejanus.—That a few, not of this number, hoped that Tiberius would be more merciful, for they thought that what had passed was occasioned entirely by Sejanus, and, that *Tiberius had nothing to do with it, and that he might perhaps have been ignorant of the whole affair, if not compelled to act the part which he had in it.*—That private persons, almost to a man, were of the same opinion.—That the Senate unanimously decreed that nobody should mourn the fallen miscreant, that the effigies of Liberty should be set up in the Forum.—That the day on which he fell should, by all persons in office and by *all the priests*, be kept as a festival.—That it should be annually celebrated by horse-races, and by the exhibitions of the fights of wild beasts, and *by the four colleges of priests*, not excepting the society of those lately instituted to Augustus.—That they, in contempt of his memory, *instituted new rites to the Gods.*—That they believed the Gods had infatuated him.—That they ordered that no one should swear by any other than by the emperor.—That the Senate decreed all this *to shew their detestation of Sejanus*, Dion says.—That they also, at the same time, decreed several things *in token of their approbation of Tiberius—viz—*that he should, from henceforth, be saluted with the title of father of his country—that his birth-day

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

should be celebrated with ten horse-races, and, with a senatorial banquet, the same writer likewise says.

After the fall of Sejanus, Dion proceeds to mention the following occurrences :

That Tiberius, on hearing of his fate, rejoiced,* as might be expected.—That the Senate again sent a deputation to Tiberius, consisting of persons of all ranks.—That he again would not permit them to see him.—That he would not permit even Regulus, the consul, who, as Dion says, was his loyal supporter, to see him, though he went, on purpose, with a party of armed men, to conduct him, as he is said to have requested, safe to Rome.—That many of the friends and relations of Sejanus were, after his fall, also put to death, and that many others, who had before been acquitted, were again tried and put to death.—That senators and knights, men and women, were put in the same prison, and, if they survived the rigour of their confinement, præcipitated from the Tarpeian rock.—That Tiberius was desirous to have every thing forgotten.—That he would permit Sejanus to be mourned, though the Senate would not.—That he was, in the following year, 785, still so much in fear of the Senate, that he would not venture among them.—That Lucius Sejanus dared, notwithstanding the fate of his brother the year before, to insult him, and that he took no notice of it.—That the Senate was, in the year 786, entirely subservient to his will.—All this, Dion says, happened in less than two years after the death of Sejanus.

Of Tiberius, while at Capreæ, Suetonius asserts the following particulars :

* Tacitus says that Tiberius found no fault at all with Sejanus; and, at the same time, found the greatest with the Blæsi, on whom he had conferred the pontificate, and whom he, v. c. 789, dispossessed of that office, and gave it to others.

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That he, soon after his philanthropic visit to Fidenæ, when he was nearly 70 years of age, became a monster of unnatural lust and of savage cruelty—that he drank human blood, as he formerly used to drink wine—that he, while at Capreæ, caused a civil war at Rome.—That many persons of all ranks, even condemned criminals, notwithstanding the machinations of spies and accusers, took the liberty of exposing him, for his supposed detestable vices, in the most public manner, if not to his face.—That he paid no attention to those multifarious accusations, but calmly said—*Oderint dum probent*.—That he, who, in 784, expelled the Jews, &c. for practising profane rites, was, a little before his death, negligent about the Gods and religion, and a fatalist; and that the people of Rome, after his death, execrated him as impious.

Josephus, on the contrary, says, that he, at the same time, prayed to the Gods of his country to be directed in the choice of a successor, and to some one God above the rest.—Agrippa, who had spent much time with him, says, that he was, during all his reign, *a daily worshipper of the most high God*.—And this he ventured to assert to his own enraged patron and kinsman Caius, even when he dared not to appear in his presence.—V. Maximus gives us to understand that he considered him as being so notoriously the patron and encourager of morality and religion, that he, after the fall of Sejanus, presumed to address him as such.—Juvenal, who, had he been so notoriously vicious and irreligious, would not have omitted to expose him for being so, only says, that he associated much, at the same time, with Chaldeans.—And of Chaldeans, Strabo says, that they were, excepting only those who studied genethliology, men of the highest reputation for science, especially Seleucus.

Let us then attend to some other particulars which Tacitus affirms of Tiberius.

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

That a most grievous destruction crept, by the no little artifice* of Tiberius, into Rome, he says, but of what nature it was, from whence it proceeded, and when it so crept into Rome, he does not say, though, if we mistake him not, he promises to let us know, in the case of two roman knights, how it happened, and, seems to hint, that it was of a religious nature. Now if it was of a religious nature, and so destructive, could it, considering what has been just said, have been said to have crept in, by the artifice of Tiberius, before the 13th year of his reign?—That this most grievous destruction, though suffered to creep into Rome, after the 13th of Tiberius, by his no little artifice, was, by some means or other, soon after repressed, he also says, but by whom it was repressed he has taken care not to say.—That it again succeeded in finding a reception at Rome, but not irreptitiously, it, on the contrary, blazed out and consumed every thing.—That Christianity, which he also calls a destructive superstition, was, for the present, by some means, also repressed, he likewise says, but when, and where, and by whom, he omits to say;—that it again broke out, not only in Judea, but in the city itself, he moreover affirms.—That accusers began their trade in the 13th year of Tiberius, and that he then discouraged them.—That they, in the 14th year, prowled most furiously and caused indescribable terror at Rome, but to what description of the inhabitants he does not say.—That the internus pavor happened in the same year, but where the cause of it originated, how it found admission into Rome, and of what nature it was, and how long it continued, this writer has, according to his custom, taken care not to say.

Let us now then attend to what the two Senecas say—and, first, to what the younger says:

* If Tiberius was really so imperious, as this writer would have us to believe, what necessity was there for him to use so much artifice to procure the entrance of any thing into Rome?

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

That the rites of foreign nations were, in the reign of Tiberius, before the death of Seneca the elder, and while the younger was just entering on manhood, agitated by the Senate, the younger himself says. That a certain superstition, which consisted chiefly in abstaining from certain sorts of animal food, attracted, at the same time, the attention of the Fathers, he also seems to say.—That even some of the Romans, of eminence, followed this *new species of philosophy*,* and himself, among the rest, he also admits.—That it excited some sort of calumny, he also admits.—That accusers were, in the reign of Tiberius, suffered to disturb the peace of Rome, worse than any civil war,† he also acknowledges.—That the things whereof they accused people were of a religious nature, why should we not, from the example which he immediately adduces, conclude, though he would have it to be understood that it was only for dishonoring an image of Tiberius.

Seneca the elder says, in his work on superstition, that the practice of that most wicked of all people has acquired such an ascendancy that it has, even now, obtained a reception all over the world—the conquered have given laws to their conquerors.—That he speaks, in the same work, of the Jewish sacraments, Augustin informs us.

Let us now attend to what Petronius Arbiter says:

In the beginning of his *Satyricon*, he says, that Fabricius Veiento, in the days of Tiberius, published a work, which he entitled, *de religionis erroribus*.—That he, in that work, detected certain mysteries, he presumes.—That those mysteries were, in his own days, published

* He says, *Cons. ad Helv.*—*Apicius in eâ urbe, ex quâ aliquando philosophi, velut corruptores juventutis, abire jussi sunt.*—Now what does he mean by this?—When were *philosophers*, as corrupters of youth, ordered to leave the city?

† That those accusers must have been encouraged by Tiberius is undeniable, if he, as Suetonius says, was the cause of that civil war.

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

boldly, and with a *deceitful fury of vaticination*, and *by priests*, he asserts. He also says that Eumolpus prefaced his poem on the civil war with this most unexpected confession, that nobody could expect to succeed in the attempt, unless he was *plenus litteris*—that he then assigned the following reason for it—viz—that transactions, which had far better be recorded by an historian, were not to be the subject of verse, but that a free spirit was to be hurried, with *præcipation*, through intricacies and the *ministeries of the Gods*, and a fabulous distortion of sentences, that it may rather appear to be the *vaticination of an infuriated mind*, than the faithful exhibition of a religious oration attested by witnesses.—He then proceeds to recite the poem, in the course of which, after having spoken *repeatedly of drinking blood*, the composer says, that in the winter of the year when the *Gemini were consuls* a civil war, not less dreadful in its effects than that caused by Sylla, commenced at Rome.—That this civil war was kindled, not, as is always the case, by those who were impatient of government, but *by Cæsar himself*, whom he represents as solemnly protesting that he had been compelled to engage in it, *because he had been driven from the seat of his government*.—The result of this civil war, he says, was, that the inhabitants of Rome thought it preferable, in the spring of the year 783, (when, we suppose, the Christians were expelled,) to desert that city, by all manner of ways.—Lastly, that Tryphæna was one of the emigrants, Petronius himself seems to intimate.

Let us then hear what Paternulus says:

He says, with apparent astonishment, that Tiberius was, in the year 783, making a levy, which caused not the least uneasiness.—He then immediately appears to demand how he could help it, if complaints were made concerning the Gods.—And, lastly, he addresses a prayer to the Deity, as though he was in doubt by what name he should call him.

A recapitulation of what early writers say of Tiberius, &c.

The testimony of V. Maximus next deserves a little attention.

This writer, long after Tiberius had disclaimed any pretension to divinity, acknowledged, even to him, and *with the most profound respect*, his divinity, and observes that it *is*, not like that of the rest of the Gods collected by opinion, but characterised by a *present faith*.

In the last place, let us attend to what Pliny has said of the interdiction of magic ceremonies under Tiberius.

This writer says that the practice of immolating a man was so common, in the Roman empire, in the reign of Tiberius, that it was, by the devotees who followed that practice, accounted a most salubrious thing to feed on the flesh of such victims—but to what Deity they were sacrificed he, it is rather remarkable, omits to say—that this inhuman practice was, through the Cyprians, derived from Moses, he seems to intimate—that it was, by the Senate, in the reign of Tiberius, prohibited, he, with seeming exultation, informs us.—That any other ceremony of the same Deity was, at the same time, prohibited, he has omitted to say.—That they obtained inconceivable applause for it, he has taken care not to omit.

In the last place let us hear what Philo says:

This writer says that a certain description of people, whom he names Taraxipolides, disturbed the peace of citizens and especially that of the jews of Alexandria, a little before Tiberius died, and that, when he died, a most unusually profound peace pervaded every part of the world.

Let us now then proceed to observe what ecclesiastical writers say of the year in which our Lord was born, of that in which he suffered, and of the disturbances that attended the first preaching of the gospel, not only in Judea, but in almost every other place.

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That our Lord was born in the 33d year of Herod, Eusebius, we find, says, in his Chronology, p. 62.—That the 33d of Herod coincided with the year of Rome 747, the preceding synopsis manifests.—That he was, when 30 years of age, baptized, Luke informs us.—That the 30th year of our Lord coincided with the year of Rome 777, or, with the 10th of the monarchy of Tiberius, and not, as Eusebius says, with the 15th, the preceding synopsis also evinces.—That Tiberius was colleague, in authority of every kind, to Augustus five years, we have proved.—That Luke, by saying that the 30th year of our Lord happened in the 15th of Tiberius, must therefore have meant to say that Tiberius began to reign five years before the death of Augustus, is evident.—That in the year 778, when our Lord began his ministry, the 46th year of the temple had elapsed, Josephus has made it appear by what he says, B. i. 21—viz—that the rebuilding of the temple commenced in the 15th year of Herod.—That our Lord's ministry lasted three years, we hope to prove, in a subsequent treatise, on the chronology of the new testament.—That our Lord suffered in the year 781 several authors appear to have attested.*—That the paschal full-moon happened that year on a Friday, we are told.—That he was expected to appear in the last jubilee, we are also told.—That the last jubilee, before the destruction of Jerusalem, ended in the 13th of Tiberius, we hope to prove also in the proposed treatise.—That the gospel was preached at Rome in the course of the summer after our Lord suffered

* Eusebius, Eccl. hist. i. last chapter, says, that it appeared by the records in the archives of Edessa, which he copied *verbatim*, that Thaddeus went to Edessa in the year 340—that is (according to the computation of the Edessenes, who began their æra with the first year of Seleucus—or, the first year of the 117th olympiad,) in the first year of the 202d olympiad, in which year Christ ascended.

The excerpta utilissima, adduced by Scaliger, as taken from the first book of Eusebius' chronology and from the works of others, say—Paulus in apostolatum ordinatur in consulatu Rubellionis.

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Clemens of Rome informs us.—That fierce opposition was then made to it, he also informs us.—That it was, by the Jews, continued several years after, and on account of certain meats, Paul says.—That Tiberius was, before Paul sent him an account of it, apprised of all that had happened in Judea by Pilate, he himself told that prince.—That his attention was then occupied by some disturbances in Spain, he also told him.—That he had, before he received the letter from Abgarus, referred the consideration of admitting the worship of Christ to the Senate, he moreover told him.—That the Senate refused to comply with his proposal, he confessed to him.—That it expelled Christians, as being Jews, from Rome, we are told.—That he then threatened death to the accusers of Christians, he informed him.—That he made inquisition, not only at Rome, but in all the provinces, for the maleficient, in order to punish them with death, Clemens of Rome likewise informs us.—That the jewish libertines were the first who opposed the faith of Christ, Luke assures us.—That they did so, and thereby caused Stephen to be stoned, as a blasphemmer, about the end of the year in which our Lord suffered, may be easily made to appear by what ecclesiastical writers say.—That Agrippa impoverished himself, by profuse largitions, to certain libertines, in hope that some project of theirs would succeed, Josephus informs us.—That 4,000 of them were sent to Sardinia, and many others punished for not enlisting, he also informs us.—That the former were Taraxipolides, and the latter believers, why should we doubt?—That the Sanhedrin, in the year 782, sent to strange cities—that is, cities in other countries, for transgressors of the law of Moses, and even for the believers in Christ, as being such, Luke informs us.—That many of those believers in Christ were, as transgressors of the law of Moses, stoned to death, Paul, who was employed to do it, informs us.—That the custom of stoning Christians, as blasphemers, was continued for the space of two years,

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we learn from what Paul told the Galatians.—That this persecution of believers, by the Sanhedrin, was, about a year or two after, by some hitherto unknown means, caused to cease, and, that Paul went, about a year after, up to Jerusalem, and there preached Christ, in the face of those who had commissioned him to persecute others for the same offence, we are assured both by himself and by his travelling companion Luke.—That Israel was deprived of the privilege of putting a certain set of persons to death in the 40th year before the destruction of Jerusalem—that is, in the 16th year of the monarchy of Tiberius, the Talmud of Jerusalem informs us.—That this privation made not the least commotion among the Jews, even of Judea, all historians grant. That the Jews were, till late in the year 784, more attached to Tiberius than any other people, Philo, we find, assures us.

Conclusion.

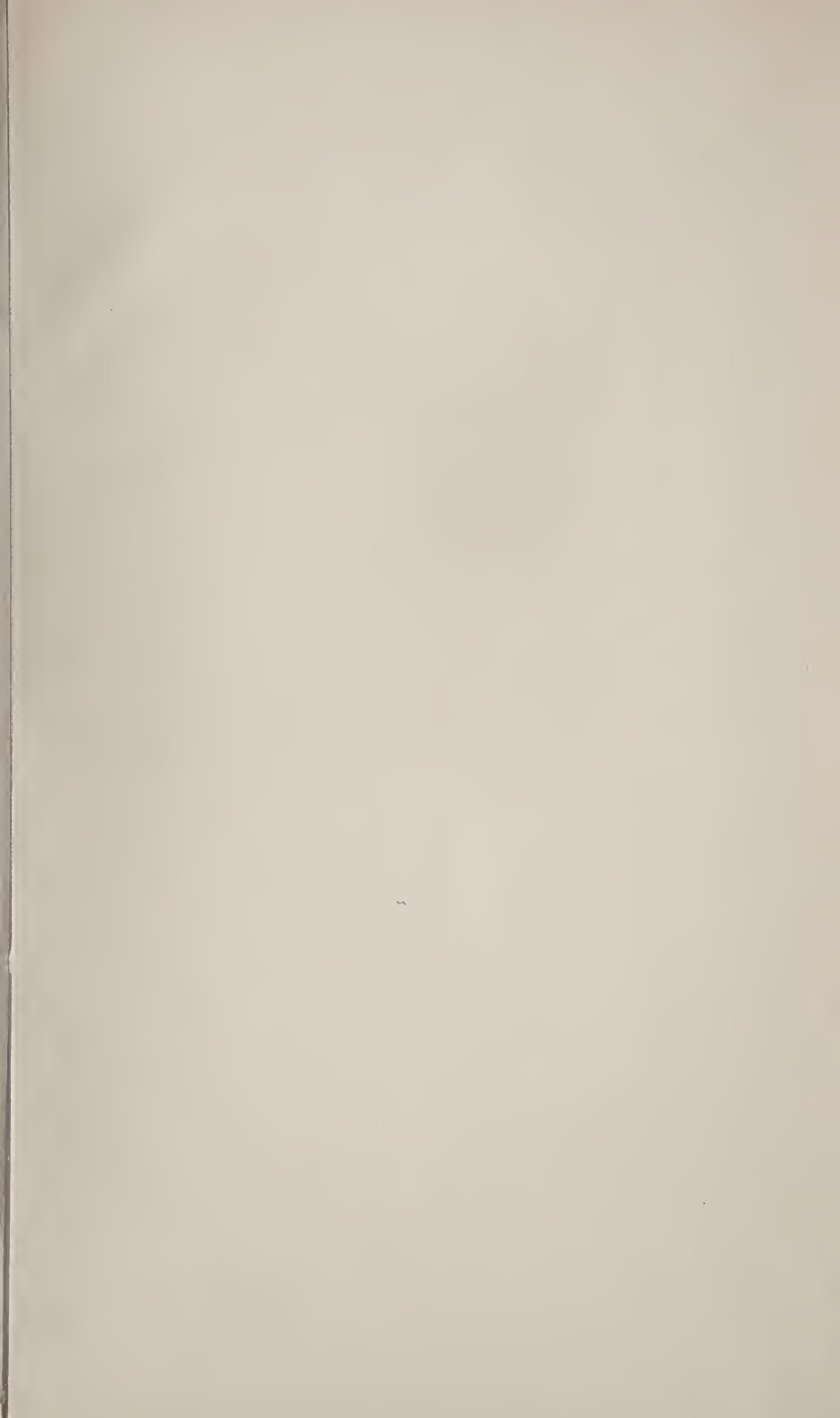
IF the premises be right who will deny that the following conclusions may be drawn from them?—viz—That the scoffers at revealed religion are incomparably greater fools than they have hitherto been thought.—That Unitarians are rather more so.—That the first Pope was an arch-impostor, and the greater part of the first general council a set of knaves or fools.—That the Catholic claims are the claims of dangerous hæretics.



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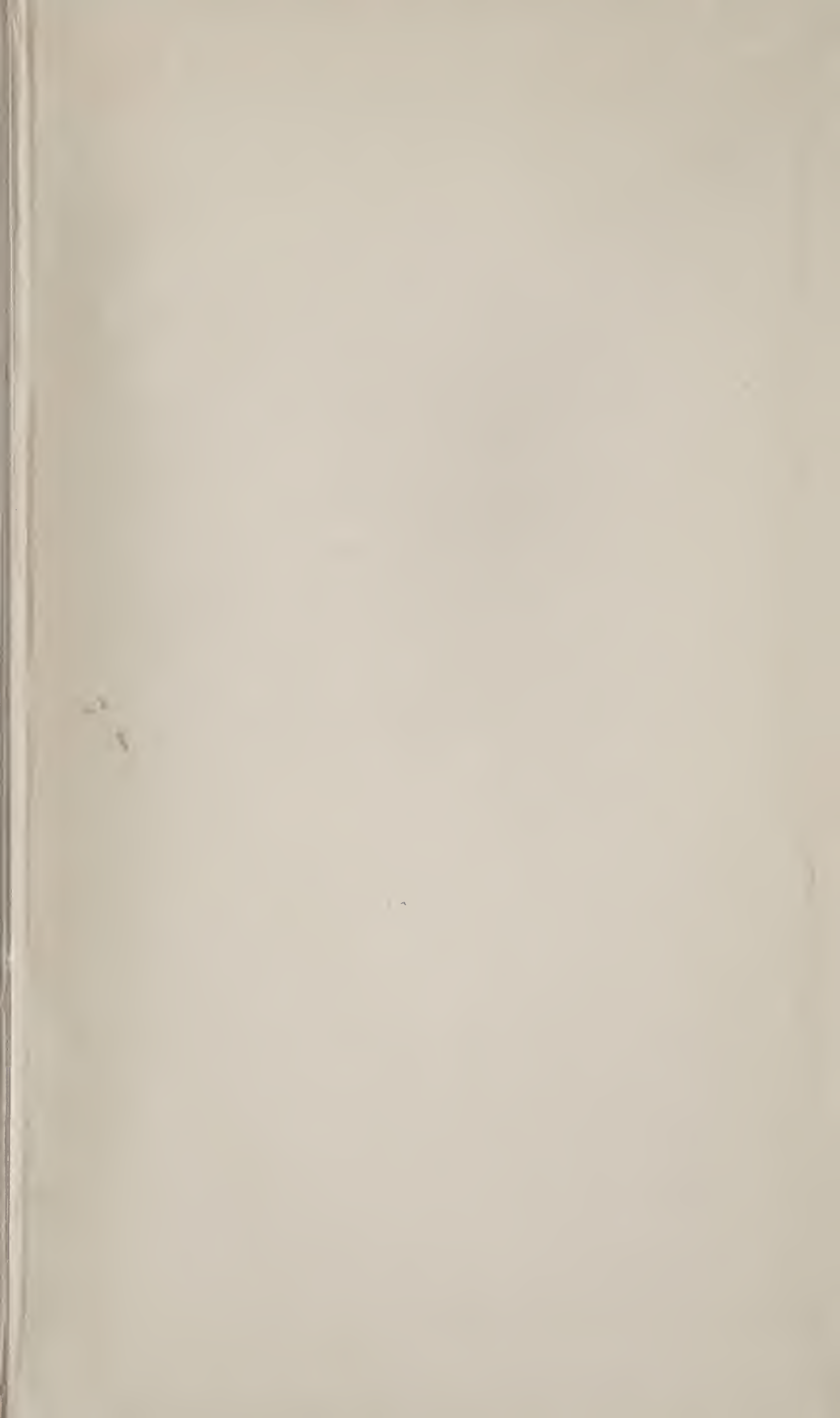


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